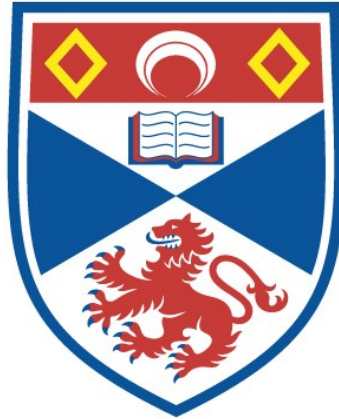


QUICHUA TALES FROM CAÑAR, ECUADOR

Rosaleen E. Howard-Malverde

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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QUICHUA TALES FROM CAÑAR, ECUADOR

ABSTRACT

The thesis comprises a classification and analysis of 64 tales told by indian inhabitants of the rural communities around the highland town of Cañar, Southern Central Ecuador. The informants all had Quichua as their mother tongue and, with the exception of 4 texts, used it in the telling of the tales. These were tape-recorded, transcribed with the help of a Quichua assistant, and are presented in full together with English translations.

The classification of texts is based largely upon criteria of contents, although both genre and tale structure are also taken into account, all three considerations being closely interrelated. Classification according to content owes something of theory and method to the Finnish-American school led by Aarne and Thompson (Thompson 1955-58, Aarne and Thompson 1961). The discussion of genre definition takes Bascom's article (1965) as a starting point, and also takes into account more recent statements on the subject. The consideration of structure as a criterion at the classification stage is in accordance with the arguments of Propp (1968) and Dundes (1962b, 1964).

The classification scheme resulted in a breakdown of the tales into four sections (A-D). The largest of these is Section A, whose 32 tales will be shown to adhere to a common structural framework, whilst the sub-sections into which they are divided reflect their differences in surface content. Sections B and C are both examples of tale cycles, bound by this definition to be grouped together. Section D comprises humorous tales, largely borrowings from *mestizo* culture, with little in common on grounds of structure.

The analysis seeks to examine the relationship between tales within the sections, at the levels of both structure and content if this is appropriate; where it is not, remarks are confined to content alone. The analysis of both structure and content calls for some comparisons to be drawn with material from elsewhere. Such comparisons are confined to the Ecuadorean highlands,

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to a lesser extent Peru, and incidental reference is made to other geographical areas, especially where borrowings are concerned.

Structural analysis was most applicable to Section A, an apparently heterogeneous group of legends and folktales which, it is argued, are bound together by common underlying features of structure. These features appear to derive from the local legends of the area, and have then encouraged the adoption and development of certain folktales whose structure was compatible with such already existing forms. The theoretical basis for this approach is to be found in Dundes (cit.), Maranda and Kongas Maranda (1971), and Hymes (1971). The breakdown of texts to reveal their structure takes both the 'syntagmatic' and the 'paradigmatic' aspects of the latter into account (see Dundes's intro. to Propp 1968:xi-xii). In order to reveal more clearly the paradigmatic characteristics of the texts, and the structural affinities that exist between tales at this level, use is made of Lévi-Straussian terminology and the methods he uses for the schematic cross-comparison of tales have been adapted (Lévi-Strauss 1970, 1972).

Analysis of content follows two main lines: in the case of the legendary material it is particularly appropriate to examine the relationship that apparently exists between the local belief system and oral narrative. In the case of folktales, it is relevant to consider content on comparative lines, examining the nature and/or distribution of episodes as they occur in Cañar and as they are found elsewhere in Andean narrative tradition. The works of Morote Best were particularly useful for this purpose (1950b, 1953b, 1954, 1957, 1958a, 1958b).

The main aim of the thesis is therefore to analyse the structure and content of the tales in order to show the underlying relationships that bind them within a coherent system of narrative tradition. Some connections at both these levels are also to be seen between sections as well as within them, and these are pointed out. Material introduced from ^{outside} was adopted, it is suggested, for its compatibility with that which was already there. In

addition to this, possible social and cultural reasons for the appeal of particular kinds of tale in the area are discussed as relevant.

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American Linguistic Studies, St.
Andrews University, May 1979

QUICHUA TALES FROM CAÑAR, ECUADOR

BY

ROSALEEN E. HOWARD-MALVERDE



Th 9323

I declare that this thesis has been composed by me on the basis of work done by me in St.Andrews and Ecuador, and that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a higher degree. I was admitted under General Ordinance No.12 in October 1975

Candidate

I certify that the conditions of the Ordinance and Regulations relating to the Degree of Ph.D. have been fulfilled

Supervisor

Preface and acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge with gratitude the following bodies, whose financial support made the research for this thesis possible: The Department of Education and Science, The Horniman Trust, The Richard Stapley Educational Trust, The Russell Trust. Thanks for advice and encouragement from the beginning go to my supervisor, Prof. Douglas Gifford, and invaluable help came from Mr. Leslie Hoggarth also of St. Andrews, who first taught me Quechua.

Library work prior and subsequent to the period of fieldwork was carried out in the St. Andrews University library, the library of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and the British Library. Work in Ecuador took place between January 1976 and March 1977: some eleven months were spent in Cañar carrying out the fieldwork, and an additional three months in libraries in Quito: those of the Universidad Católica, the Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana, the Biblioteca Nacional, and the Biblioteca Espinosa Polit at Cotacollao. In Cuenca the library of the Casa de la Cultura was very helpful, and many of the people mentioned below allowed me invaluable access to their private collections.

Whilst in Ecuador I had nothing but help, support and hospitality from institutions and individuals alike. I should like to extend my thanks to the following in particular: Arq. Hernán Crespo Toral of the Museo del Banco Central in Quito, Dr. Arturo Crespo Toral and his family of Quito, Sr. Olaf Holm of the Museo del Banco Central in Guayaquil, Drs. Jacinto Cordero, Manuel A. Landivar and Carlos Ramirez of the Casa de la Cultura in Cuenca, and Sr. Jaime Idrovo and his colleagues of the University of Cuenca. During my stay in Cañar, the Madres Dominicanas of the Hospital de Cañar gave me board, lodging and great hospitality, and I received advice and assistance

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The period March-May 1977, prior to my return to Scotland, was spent visiting the Department of Anthropology of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, where discussions with students and staff members involved in Quichua studies were very helpful. A second visit was made in April 1978. My thanks especially to Louisa Stark and Rosalind Gow, whose hospitality and encouragement would be hard to reciprocate in true Andean fashion! While in Madison I also made use of the various university libraries which afforded me valuable material.

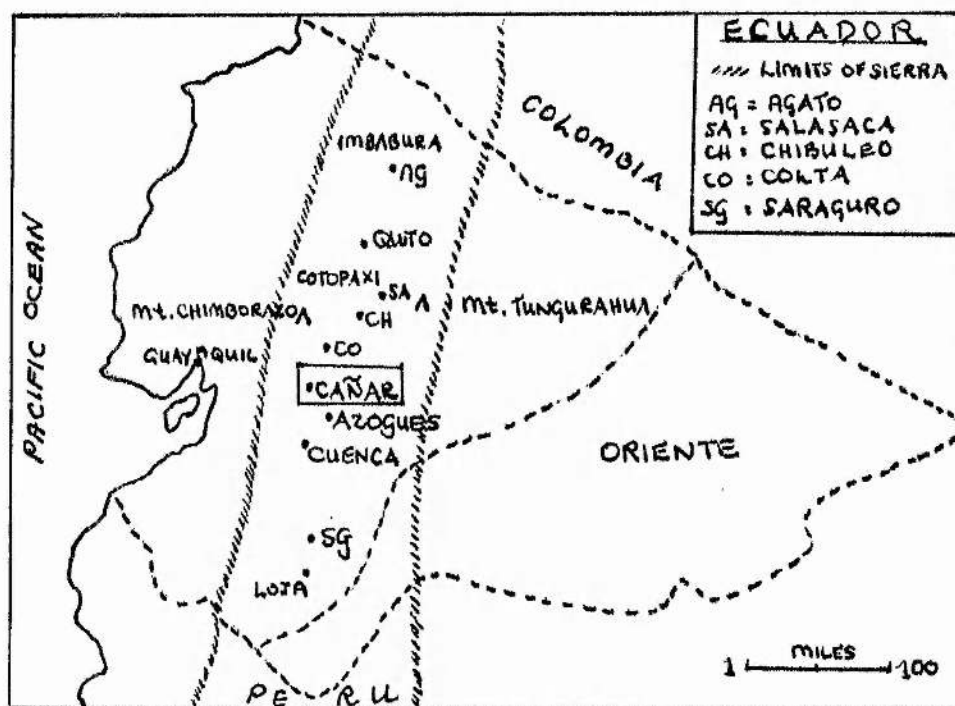
Work in this country continued in St. Andrews and, from August 1978, in London. My thanks to my husband, Rodolfo, and my family for their support during the latter stages especially, and a very special thanks to Mrs. Penny Jolley who lent me the typewriter!

Most of all my thanks are due to the people of Cantón Cañar who were with me during the fieldwork, accepted me with such wonderful hospitality, and who told me the stories: "*Dios selo pague*".

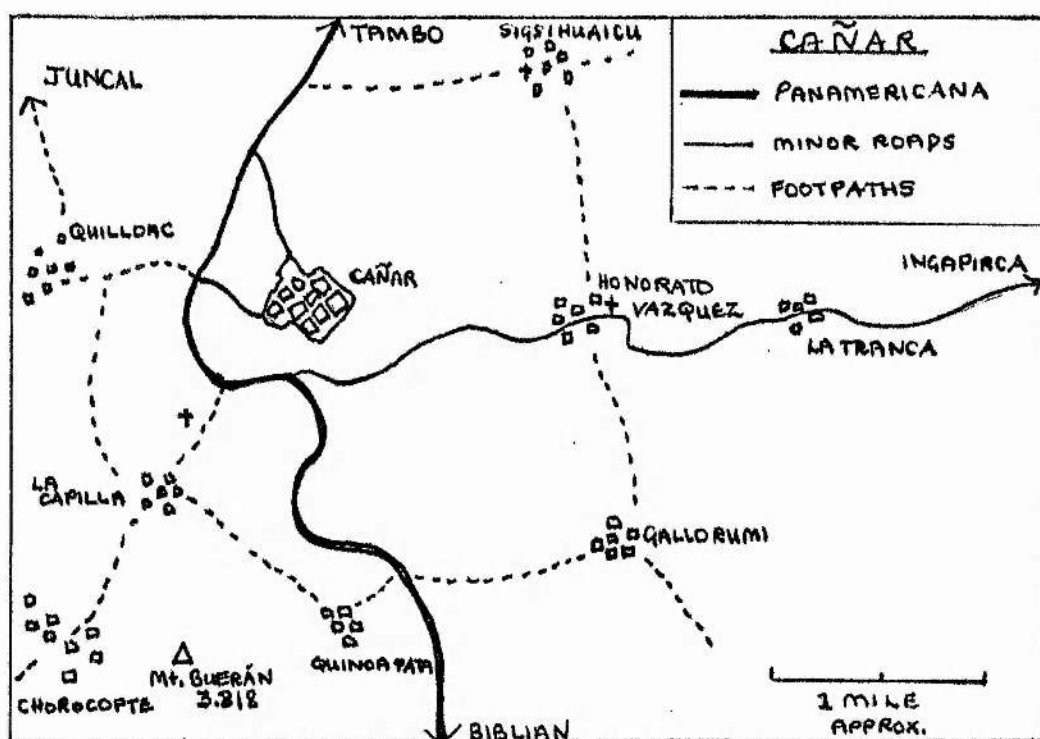
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MAPS



CHAPTER 1

General Introduction (*)

1.0 The choice of Cañar

During the period of the fieldwork, from the end of March 1976- beginning of February 1977, I based myself in the town of Cañar, taking a room in a disused hospital building attached to the community of the Madres Dominicanas who ran the hospital, by then housed in new buildings on the other side of the town. This location provided me with an independent and neutral base where I could come and go freely and be visited without any difficulty. Most of the fieldwork was done in the *comunidades* themselves, which I visited on most days. These visits gave me plenty of opportunity for observation of and participation in the indian way of life: being there for almost a full year made it possible to take part in all the major fiestas of the year, and to witness the changing face of the landscape and activities that went with the cycle of the agricultural year.

My choice of Cañar as a base for the fieldwork was influenced by the fact that comparatively little ethnographic research had been carried out in the area. This is with the particular exceptions of the Danish anthropologists Niels Fock and Eva Krener, who had worked in Juncal between 1973-1974, and of Dra. Carmen Muñoz who had worked in the eastern part of the *cantón*, around Pindilig; and their work continues. At the time of my visit, however, there were no other foreign research workers in the area, which was not the case with other locations I considered, such as Otavalo, Salasaca, and Saraguro.

I was looking for an area which still had a strong indian identity, made apparent in outward ways by dress, and hairstyle: the Cañaris provided this. Then my curiosity to get to know the area was further

(*) For typographical reasons, footnotes have been placed at the end of each chapter; italic script is used for foreign language, but not for those words considered to be proper names.

aroused by the many conflicting opinions I heard of its reputation. In part these were very negative; Cañar appeared to be viewed by the rest of the world, both Ecuadoreans and foreigners, as somewhat hostile territory, unfriendly in climate and population alike. The adjective I heard most often applied to the Cañaris was *bravo*. In retrospect, the only signs I saw of *bravismo* would have been better interpreted as the determination on the part of the indian to preserve his cultural identity in the face of continual pressure and attempts to undermine it on the part of members of the dominant *mestizo* culture. The intrusion of outsiders of any kind into the indian community must needs be viewed with suspicion by its inhabitants, until this is shown to be unnecessary.

2.0 Historical background

That other Ecuadoreans, and particularly those north of Cañar, should view the area with traditional animosity can be explained in part by history. Cañari resistance to conquest by the Incas, begun circa A.D. 1470 by Tupac Yupanqui, led to bitter resentment following heavy loss of life. Later ill-feeling towards the Inca overlords became focussed on Atahualpa, who stood for the territories to the north of Cañar as far as and beyond Quito. The Cañaris took the side of Huáscar in the civil disputes that followed the death of Huayna Capac, and this factionalism led to their later siding with the Spanish invaders led by Benalcázar, and helping them on their way northwards to Quito. (1) Thus in historical times there was good reason for the bellicose Cañaris to be viewed with distrust by the people to their north, and it seems reasonable to suppose that present day attitudes are a vestige of this.

The present day town of Cañar is the Hatun Cañar of pre-Inca times, when the Confederación Cañari stretched from north to south

between the rivers Chanchán and Jubones, covering an area which today includes a part of southern Chimborazo, together with the whole of Cañar and Azuay provinces. Our knowledge of the traditions and beliefs of its people at the time of conquest is sparse due to the limited number of chroniclers who witnessed and recorded these (see Rowe 1946:183ff); the most reliable of the available documentation is probably that of Cieza (op.cit.), and Cristóbal de Molina records the myth of the origin of the Cañaris attributed to the area. According to this, the world was destroyed by a flood, from which only two brothers escaped by climbing to the top of a mountain. There, they went about their daily lives, but on returning home in the evenings would find the housework done and a meal prepared by invisible hands. One day, one of the brothers sets watch and catches the intruder: a *guacamayo* bird in the form of a woman whom he catches and marries; from them descended the race of the Cañaris. (2) The tradition is known in the area still but, in my own experience, only in a literary form derived from such written sources as I have cited. Nonetheless, in the Cañar collection of Gunter Schulze, there is an interesting tale which appears to be a fusion of the biblical story of Noah's Ark and a truncated version of the Cañari origin myth (GS/CA/13: '*Noen arcata ruhuashcamanta*'). Elsewhere in highland Ecuador, tales exist in the oral tradition which appear to be vestiges of a comparable origin myth, dealing with the theme of a single man who finds meals being prepared for him by unknown hands; he sets watch and finds a bird-woman is responsible, he captures and weds her. (GS/CO/2: '*Curiquingamanta*', LS/IM/10: '*Shug tio causashoa pailla*', and JC/IM/20: '*Shuj sapallu runa shuj urpicunahuan*').

3.0 Geographical background

Today, Cañar is the capital of the *cantón* of the same name, one of three *cantones*, together with Biblián and Azogues, to make up the province. The population of the urban parish of Cañar is estimated according to the 1974 census at 11,156. The population of the rural parishes of Chorocopte, Honorato Vázquez (Tambo Viejo), and Juncal, to which I shall refer, are estimated at 2,300, 4,829, and 1,684, respectively. (3) Whereas the town's population is white and *mestizo*, that of the rural parishes is mainly indian, with some *mestizo*.

The town's geographical location is a striking one; it nestles in the Cañar basin at an altitude of 3,175m. above sea level. This is one of ten interandean basins that form pockets for population from north to south between the two parallel ranges of the Cordillera Occidental and the Cordillera Oriental. (4) The town is dominated on all sides by the Azuay mountains, across whose lower slopes are scattered the indian *parcialidades* or communities. Among the most prominent summits of the area is Buerán (3815m.), which I mention as it features prominently in the folklore.

The level of indian habitation ranges from anything between 3,200 and 3,600 m. above sea level. The climate of the zone is characterized less by seasonal variations, although these supposedly exist, than by daily fluctuations in temperature from about 65F in the mornings to around 50F or lower in the late afternoons and evenings. The latter part of the day is usually marked by the descent of a damp fog, and drizzle referred to as *páramo* - a term also applied to the marshy uplands with which it is most associated. These peculiarities of climate, together with other ecological factors influence popular beliefs, as will be seen reflected in some of the tales. The major occupation of the indians from whom the stories were collected is subsistence agriculture: maize (*zea mays*) is cultivated in the more

sheltered valleys, but the land to which they have most ready access is suitable mainly for barley, wheat and pulse vegetables; above a height of about 3,400 m. only indigenous tubers such as the potato (*solanum tuberosum*), the oca (*oxalis tuberosa*), melloco (*basella tuberosa* H), and mashua (?) will grow. These higher slopes are also used for the pasturing of livestock.

4.0 Field collection method

The tales were almost invariably tape-recorded, and later transcribed with the help of an indian assistant (MEZ), whom I chose as she was unmarried, and therefore had less binding commitments to domestic and agricultural tasks than a married man or woman would have had; towards the end of my stay she was spending two or three days per week with me helping both to transcribe and translate, without too much inconvenience to her family. Most of the collecting went on in the informants' homes where I would either visit them very early in the morning, or late in the afternoon in order to catch the menfolk at home; with women informants there was less problem as they stayed at home until around midday, when I would often go with them to the fields taking the cooked lunch to the workers. As people came to know me, I would also be visited, particularly on Sundays, which was market day and people would already be in town for other reasons. Tales would be told and conversations would start up then, too. There was clearly a strong tradition of tale-telling, and certain members of the communities were particularly known for their aptitude (JMD and EDC were examples).

My initial contact with members of the communities came through introductions from the Padres Esculapios, and from Padre Iglesias, the parish priest. Attempts at introductions through *mestizo* traders or town officials did not work. As things progressed, already established

informants who understood what I was after became very cooperative in finding me new contacts. The early days of collecting were exploratory ones: I would use terms such as *cuento*, *ejemplo*, or *parlo* when asking people to narrate something, and would then leave the selection of material up to them. The narratives told most readily by this method would be fox and rabbit tales, or humorous narratives. Then a breakthrough came when JAG volunteered the tale of a traveller who met the devil (Tale 8). Here at last was a belief legend, an account of a supernatural happening the informant appeared to believe had happened to his grandfather. But I was still very much in the dark: from this single text it was possible to glimpse only small sections of the jigsaw. It was not until my Quichua improved and I was able to ask the right questions that the pieces began to slot into place. Then gradually I developed a fuller picture of the complex of beliefs to which details of the *huairashoa* remedy, and motifs such as the *caja ronca* belonged. The process was a gradual one.

Soon I began to look for examples in the Cañar area of tale types I had become familiar with through collections from other parts of Ecuador, and that is how I came to hear the stories of the young girl and the buzzard (Tales 20-21), and the Bear's Son tale (Tale 23). The Mama Ahuadóna tales (Tales 25-28) became known to me by chance, however, as did the Christ Child cycle (Tales 33-37). The discovery of these two types was all the more exciting for having come upon them without directed questioning, and then recognizing their links with narrative traditions I knew of for other parts of the *sierra*.

As more texts were gathered, I devised a questionnaire based on the motifs they contained. This was designed to help estimate how far tales and the local belief system were related. The questions would sometimes elicit statements of belief, or alleged belief, and

at other times would lead to the telling of new variants of already known tale types. Another questionnaire was compiled for the purpose of gathering data of a more sociological nature: such as marriage customs, and the *compadrazgo* system. Although a large-scale correlation between such data and the tales is beyond the scope of this investigation, some of this information is relevant and will be referred to in its place.

The principal communities in which I worked were Quilloac, La Capilla, Sigsihuaicu, and La Tranca. Informants from other areas were obtained by visits to the prison in Cañar, where indians from various parts of the *cantón* were glad of the novelty of telling a few tales, and a valuable contact was made by visiting GGG in Juncal, and our later meetings took place either at Nar, where he worked, or when he visited me. Every attempt was made to collect from a representative cross-section of the community. However, men proved to be more gregarious than women and are represented in higher proportion than the latter. The age range of informants is wide, although the optimum age proved to be between 25 and 45 years. Much oral transmission of tales goes on between the generations, while taking a break from work, or in the evenings when gathered in the dark around the family hearth. However, I never had the opportunity to hear tales spontaneously told. There was always an awareness of my presence which either inhibited this or brought about the telling of tales with the specific aim of helping me, and being recorded. Although therefore it cannot be said that these texts are the product of a natural impulse to narrate, the audiences that gathered around out of curiosity responded naturally to what they heard, laughing where called for, gasping, nudging one another, and correcting the narrator on some occasions when he got the details 'wrong'. Sometimes a variant of a tale would be elicited by first playing a recording made on a previous occasion, and then asking

the informant to tell his own version. I consider that every chance was given to invite stories of all types into the collection, which is a representative sample of the kind of tale told nowadays among Quichua- speaking indians in the Cañar area. Had I stayed longer and collected more, it is doubtful whether any new tale types would have emerged, although fresh motifs would have been unearthed, for such features are among the variables of folktale structure and always open to transformation and innovation.

5.0 The informants

The informants came from villages within a ten kilometre radius of the town of Cañar, belonging to the rural parishes of Chorocote, Honorato Vázquez and Juncal. They were all primarily agricultural workers, some owning more land than others; where they were involved in any additional occupation, this is mentioned. They were all to a greater or lesser degree versed in Spanish, but all had Quichua as a mother tongue and as the language they used in their home environment. Those under about the age of 30 had usually received some formal schooling. However, very few of them showed signs of having been influenced by the written word. Exceptions were MJA, JMD, and GZP, all of whom had copies of the New Testament translated into Quichua. There is no doubt that this had influenced the Christ Child stories which, although passed on orally, had no doubt been 'tainted' by orthodoxy via such available written sources.

AGUAEZA, Lorenzo, (LA): Quilloac, about 60, literate, knew Spanish, husband of TSA

AGUAEZA, Manuel Jesús (MJA): Sigsihuaicu, 62, literate, knew Spanish, had held position of authority in community and been part of a delegation to Quito during the setting up of the Agrarian Reform laws in the early '60s.

BUÑAY, Agustín (AB): La Capilla, about 70, non-literate, knew a little Spanish, the texts supplied by him were recorded for me by JPD.

CAMAS ZARUMA, Escolástica (ECZ): La Capilla, 39, non-literate, knew a little Spanish, mother of MEZ and wife of AZC

CHUGLLA, Manuela (MC): La Capilla, about 70, non-literate, knew very little Spanish, wife of JY

DUTAN, José Manuel (JMD): La Capilla, about 40, literate, knew Spanish, cousin of AZC

DUY CAMAS, Eduardo (EDC): Quilloac, about 30, literate, husband of PTA, brother of ECZ, weaver, helpful in finding me further contacts.

DUY, Juan Pedro (JPD): La Capilla, 29, had above average level of formal education, had been discouraged by Quichua-speaking parents from speaking Quichua, had adopted *mestizo* hairstyle and dress, helpful in finding me further contacts.

GUAMAN, Emilio (EG): La Capilla, 45, literate, knew Spanish, married with 4 children

GUAMAN, José Antonio (JAG): Sigsihuaicu (where he had moved fairly recently after marrying, from La Posta where his parents still lived), 26, literate, knew Spanish, married with three children, learnt stories from his father

GUASCO GUAMAN, Gerónimo (GGG): Juncal, about 35, well-educated, knew Spanish well, had previously worked with Danish anthropologists Eva Krener and Niels Fock, thanks to whose field report I found his name. At the time of my visit he was working nearby at Nar with a group of Norwegian missionaries.

MOROCHO, Santos (SM): Ducur, about 40, literate, knew Spanish, I interviewed him in Cañar prison where he had been for 7 years.

SOLANO AGUAEEZA, Juan (JSA): Quilloac, about 50, literate, knew Spanish, worked for long periods on the coast, coming back to Cañar for major festivals such as Carnival, brother of PTA.

SOLANO AGUAEEZA, Tomasa, (TSA): Quilloac, 54, non-literate, knew little Spanish, wife of LA.

TENEMPAHUAY BUÑAY, María Rosa (MRT): Sigsihuaicu, about 50, non-literate, spoke little Spanish, lived with her husband and one married son.

TENESACA, Esteban (ET): Sisid, about 35, literate, knew Spanish, had adopted *mestizo* hairstyle and clothing, interviewed in Cañar prison, where he had been for a couple of years.

TENESACA AGUAEEZA, Presentación (PTA): Quilloac, 26, wife of EDC, 2 children, knew little Spanish

TIGSI, José María (JMT): Quinoa Pata, about 40, literate, knew Spanish, an inmate of Cañar prison at the time of recording, but later released.

VELAZQUEZ, Manuel Antonio (MAV): Honorato Vazquez parish (community?), about 20, literate, knew Spanish, had adopted *mestizo* hairstyle and clothing, unmarried, interviewed in Cañar prison where he had been a few months.

YUGSI, Juanchu (JY): La Capilla, about 80, non-literate, spoke little Spanish, husband of MC.

ZARUMA, Marfa Etelvina (MEZ): La Capilla, about 15, had completed 2 grades of primary school, knew Spanish quite well, daughter of AZC and ECZ, helped with the transcription of the texts.

ZARUMA CARDENAS, Agustín (AZC): La Capilla, about 45, literate, knew Spanish quite well, husband of EZC and father of MEZ. Although he didn't tell me any stories he was most helpful in finding me informants, made his living more by weaving than by agriculture, in which way he was different from other members of the community.

ZHAU PATIÑO, Gregorio (GZP): Sigsihuaicu, 89, literate, had been educated by the Padres Redentoristas, held office of *sindico* in the community, thereby responsible for encouraging attendance at mass in the village chapel and for calling people together for *mingas*, probably the oldest and certainly the most respected member of the community.

6.0 Transcription and translation

It was decided to adopt the system of orthography favoured by the compilers of publications issued by the Instituto Interandino de Desarrollo in collaboration with the Ministerio de Educación designed for use in bilingual Quichua-Spanish education programmes at that time being developed in the country. In order to provide an easier stepping-stone between written Quichua and written Spanish, this system follows the norms of Spanish orthography, and this is the method I use.

As the texts are being studied here for their folkloric rather than linguistic interest, some uniformity was sought in the transcription from text to text, from informant to informant, as it was felt a rigid adherence to phonetic distinctions - particularly those found in Spanish loan-words - would have hindered a fluent reading of the texts for the sake of their content. What is more, there appeared to be no agreement from one speaker to the next as to the Spanish loan-words which received Spanish pronunciation and those which had a Quichua-ized pronunciation. The most expedient norm to adopt in this case was to give Spanish spelling to all such items. The resulting loss of linguistic flavour from the texts is somewhat regrettable, so I mention below some of the borrowings which are frequently, but by no

means always, given Quichua pronunciation by Quichua-speakers:

| | |
|-----------|---------------------|
| /juirsa/ | fu ^{er} za |
| /jazinda/ | hacienda |
| /jułshta/ | fiesta |
| /jułvor/ | favor |
| /biłtia/ | bestia |
| /cazi/ | casi |

Similarly it was found expedient to decide on a norm for the transcription of some Quichua words whose pronunciation varied from informant to informant. The rule was to use the most common form of pronunciation in the case of words where some phonetic variation was found. With the following words, therefore, the one featured in the left hand column shows the orthography favoured:

| | |
|---------|-------------|
| allau | (allzhau) |
| cullqui | (cullzhqui) |
| ruhuana | (rurana) |
| llagta | (llajta) |

Where the distinction was a phonemic one, however, the distinction was retained in transcription, as with the following dialect variations:

| | | |
|--------|-------|--------|
| ñumpa | ñaupa | ñugpa |
| chaupi | | chugpi |

There are several phonetic characteristics typical of the Cañar dialect which have been retained in transcription as they appear consistently in the speech of most informants. These include the suppression of word final /-j/ in suffixes such as: /-paj/ > /-pa/, /-raj/ > /-ra/, /-taj/ > /-ta/, /-yuj/ > /-yu/, /-chij/ > /-chi/. Also, the voiced velar fricative /g/ in the suffix /-gpi/. A less consistent variation is the suppression of the final /n/ in the suffix /-man/ > /-ma/. Due to the inconsistency of this usage, it was decided to keep to the standard form. (5) Morphological variations in the Cañar dialect that occur consistently have been retained also: these include the suppression of the /-pa/ in the verbal suffix /-shpa/, found especially in compounds such as: *pasash cui* and *shitash jichuna*, for example. Likewise I have retained the few examples of the variant plural suffix /-na/ in place

of /-cuna/, found particularly in the texts supplied by EDC, eg. *painaca* < *paicunaca*.

In translation every endeavour has been made to keep as close as possible to the original, that is to say the sense has not been changed in any way. At the same time an attempt has been made to give a free-flowing rendering in English which might capture the atmosphere of the Quichua expression in a way which a literal translation might fail to do. In the few cases where translation has been uncertain, this is pointed out. Occasionally terms are left untranslated, and these are listed in the Glossary, eg. *gallo mishicu*.

7.0 The comparative material

Comparative analysis within a limited culture area forms an important part of the analysis. This area is restricted to the Ecuadorean highlands, and to central and southern Peru. For the Ecuadorean area I have used both published and unpublished sources, whereas for comparison with Peru I restricted myself to the most readily available published sources only. The comparisons are intended to shed greater light on the context of the Cañar material - in Andean oral tradition. However, as the main aim of the investigation is the study of the the inner structure of the Cañar corpus in its own immediate environment, restrictions on the amount of comparative material to be included, particularly beyond the bounds of the Ecuadorean *sierra* were considered necessary. These limits thus led to the exclusion of various interesting collections and analyses of of Ecuadorean Oriente material. (6)

For the Ecuadorean highland area, the unpublished texts to which I had access contributed considerably to my understanding of my own material. As I refer to these comparative texts in the course of the

analysis, a system of abbreviation is used which denotes first the collector of the text, secondly the area where it was collected, and thirdly the number of the text with its title. The numbering of the texts is my own, whereas the titles are those given by the collectors.

These abbreviations are as follows:

SG/SG Sharon Galambos/Saraguro 1975
 GS/CA Gunter Schulze/Cañar 1968
 GS/CO Gunter Schulze/Colta 1967-68
 GS/SA Gunter Schulze/Salasaca 1968
 GS/AG Gunter Schulze/Agato 1968
 HD/SA Hugh Dufner/Salasaca n.d.
 PM/CT Pieter Muysken/Cotopaxi 1976
 LS/IM Louisa Stark et al./Imbabura 1975?
 LS/CH Louisa Stark/Chibuleo 1976
 JC/IM José Chávez/Imbabura 1976

FOOTNOTES

(1) For accounts of the attitudes adopted by the Cañaris in Ecuador during Inca and Spanish conquests see: Cieza de León (1853:398), Garcilaso de la Vega (1960:I:297), González Suárez (1965:56-62, 1890,II), Hemming (1970:29, 155-6, 160, 163-4), Iglesias (1973:58-65), Oberem (1974-6) gives the most detailed account.

(2) de Molina (1916:12-13); this myth is also mentioned in Cobo (1956: 151-152), was later documented by González Suárez (1965:63-64), and is cited frequently by contemporary commentators, eg. Guevara (1954:52-53), Arriaga (1965:98-99), Iglesias (op.cit.3).

(3) Junta de Planificación y Coordinación Económica (Oct.1975), this publication was placed at my disposal by the office of the Ministerio de Agricultura in Cañar. Further, less up-to-date statistics are available in Cisneros Cisneros (1948).

(4) Linke (1954:2), Salomon (1978:47-49)

(5) By standard form is meant the dialect of Chimborazo as used in Stark's studies of Ecuadorean Quichua dialect variation (Stark 1975, Stark and Muysken 1977).

(6) viz. Hartmann and Oberem (1971), Orr and Hudelson (1971), and Santos Ortíz de Villalba (1976).

CHAPTER 2

Classification and analysis

1.0 The arrangement of the material

The sixty-four texts presented here are divided into four sections for the purpose of analysis. Within each section there may be further division into sub-sections. The texts, with English translation, precede the analysis and commentary that applies to them in each sub-section. So it is, for example, that 'Section A sub-section (a): Tales of the *urcu yaya*', begins with the texts of Tales 1-3, that represent it, and follows on with their analysis. Before discussing the method of classification in detail, I present below the 'List of Tales', which is the result of that process:

1.1 List of Tales

Section A: Tales of encounters with the non-human world

(a) Tales of the *urcu yaya*

- Tale 1 *Charun yayamanta*/The old man of Charun
- Tale 2 *Taita Bueranmanta*/The old man of Buerán
- Tale 3 *Taita Bueranmanta*/The old man of Buerán

(b) Tales of the devil

Group (i)

- Tale 4 *La lucha entre la cruz y el diablo*/The fight between the cross and the devil
- Tale 5 *Ishcai mozocuna*/The two friends
- Tale 6 *Ishcai noviata charigmanta*/The man who had two sweethearts
- Tale 7 *Diablo apashca huarmica*/The woman who was abducted by the devil
- Tale 8 *Diablohuan tupashca runa*/The traveller who met the devil
- Tale 9 *El viajero quien se topó con el diablo*/The traveller who encountered the devil

Group (ii)

- Tale 10 *Molinomanta*/The haunted grinding mill
- Tale 11 *Diablopa huasinan yaicushea runa*/The man who entered the devils' house
- Tale 12 *Chingarishca huahuaocuna*/The lost children
- Tale 13 *Misihuan ovejahuan*/The cat and the sheep

Group (iii)

- Tale 14 *Diablohuan contratadoca*/The man who had a pact with the devil

(c) Tales of the return of the dead

- Tale 15 *El viajero que se encontró con un alma*/The traveller who met a soul
 Tale 16 *Almahuan tupashca runa*/The man who met an unquiet soul
 Tale 17 *El alma desasosegada*/The unquiet soul
 Tale 18 *Causarishca huarmica*/The woman who revived from the dead

(d) Tales of the *cuichi*

- Tale 19 *Solterahuan cuichihuan*/The young girl and the rainbow

(e) Tales of the *ullachu*

Group (i)

- Tale 20 *Solterahuan ullachuhuan*/The young girl and the buzzard
 Tale 21 *Solterahuan ullachuhuan*/The young girl and the buzzard

Group (ii)

- Tale 22 *Huauquindi ullachucunahuan*/The two brothers and the buzzards

(f) The Bear's Son tale

- Tale 23 *Osopa churi*/The Bear's Son

(g) The Snake Sister tale

- Tale 24 *Naña culebramanta*/The Snake Sister

(h) Tales of the Mama Ahuardona

- Tale 25 *Huahuacunahuan jatun mamarucuhuan*/The old woman and the children
 Tale 26 *Mama Ahuardonahuan huahuacunahuan*/Mama Ahuardona and the children
 Tale 27 *Mama Ahuardona*/Old woman Ahuardona
 Tale 28 *Mama Ahuardona añashuan*/Mama Ahuardona and the skunk

(i) Miscellaneous

- Tale 29 *Urpicunamanta*/The traveller and the doves
 Tale 30 *Pueblonuevomanta*/The new land
 Tale 31 *Runahuan ch'alli huarmihuan*/A faithful husband and a faithless wife
 Tale 32 *Sapondi, sueñondi, apangurandi*/The frog, the dream and the crab

Section B: The Christ Child cycle

- Tale 33 *Niño Jesusmanta*/The story of the Christ Child
 Tale 34 *Niño Jesusmanta*/The story of the Christ Child
 Tale 35 *Diospa bendicionca*/How God's blessing was given
 Tale 36 *Diablocunahuan taita Dioshuan*/The devils and God
 Tale 37 *Causarishca gallomanta*/The cockerel that came back to life

Section C: Animal Tales

(a) The fox and rabbit trickster cycle

Tales 38-45 *Atughuan conejohuan*/The fox and the rabbit

(b) Aetiological tales of the fox and rabbit

Tale 46 *Atughuan conejohuan Mama Virgenhuan*/The fox, the rabbit and the Virgen Mary

Tale 47 *Conejopa rinricunamanta*/How the rabbit got long ears

Tale 48 *El conejo y taita Diosito*/The rabbit and God

Tale 49 *Conejo Jesushuan apuesto*/The rabbit's bet with Jesus

(c) Didactic fables

Tale 50 *Ucuchaquina*/The town mouse and the country mouse

Tale 51 *Ucuchacunapa congreso*/The mice's meeting

Tale 52 *Solitariondi chucurillundi*/The solitary bird and the weasel

Tale 53 *C'ari tucushca sapo*/The vain frog

Tale 54 *Huanchacahuan sarzahuan*/The opossum and the heron

Section D: Humorous Tales

(a) Bawdy priest tales

Tale 55 *Taita curita Benitomanta*/Father Benito

Tale 56 *Taita curita Marianoca*/Father Mariano

Tale 57 *Taita curitahuan yanudorhuan*/The priest and his cook

Tale 58 *Taita curitahuan huiñachishcahuan*/The priest and his foster son

Tale 59 *Huahuahuan nina c'uruhuan*/The child and the glow worm

Tale 60 *Beatahuan quimsa amigohuan*/The devout woman and her suitors

(b) Other humorous tales

Tale 61 *Gallo tucushca runa*/The man who played cockerel

Tale 62 *Burro randidorca*/The dimwit's adventures

Tale 63 *Sonsohuan huauquicunahuan*/The dimwit and his brothers

Tale 64 *Cullqui mashcag chazuca*/The deceitful gold digger

2.0 Method of classification

The classification of a set of texts as diverse as this is not a straightforward task, and however much effort is made to maintain objectivity, it is inevitable that a certain amount of arbitrariness and subjectivity should enter into the procedure. Standard techniques were consulted, and adopted to some extent; I refer in particular to

the works of Aarne and Thompson, of which more in a moment.

However, it is hoped that the classification finally arrived at is one

which reflects both criteria of content, as do the Aarne-Thompson works, and criteria of narrative structure which, it shall be maintained, should be held of equal importance when establishing affinities between one tale and the next. Both these considerations would probably enter an indigenous system of classification, were one to be known, along with such factors as social function of the tale: is it meant to teach? is it an expression of belief? is it simply an entertainment? I consider my own classification to take account of the three factors: content, structure, and genre, attempting to combine something of each. Before discussing in more detail the theories behind the application of these factors to classification and analysis, I shall summarize the rationale behind the divisions I have made in the collection:

Section A: these tales have in common that they all set out to examine the relationship of conflict that exists between inhabitants of this world, the indians of Cañar, and those of the 'other world'. That 'other world' may be depicted as hell (*ucu pacha/infierno*), or it may be a region ecologically, rather than cosmologically, distinct from the normal bounds of human habitation: the high moorlands (*urcu*), or wooded hillsides (*sacha*), to take two examples. Its inhabitants may be the souls of the dead, the devils, the hill fathers (*urcu yaya*), the rainbow, certain animals, and so on. As a generic term to cover all these in the context of narrative I have chosen the label 'non-human agent', being less suggestive than 'supernatural agent', and serving to remind us that their importance is in their non-human qualities, which oppose them to the humans with whom they interact.

The criterion used for the initial assignment of tales to Section A is therefore a broad one of underlying theme, but will also be seen to be one of narrative structure; when I come on to discuss the methods of analysis I will return to this. In the subdivision of

Section A texts, however, criteria of content guided me more. It seemed reasonable to separate tales of the *urcu yaya* from tales of the devil, tales of the rainbow, and so on. This would then pave the way for discussion of these figures and their abodes in the context of the local belief system. While the main aim of the analysis is to show that similar structural patterns run through all the tales in this section, it is not possible to separate form from content for long and they will be shown to be interdependent. The inclusion of tales in sub-section (i): 'Miscellaneous' was guided by structural criteria alone, however, as despite their dissimilarity of content, and the fact that they are borrowings, they are shown to have a narrative pattern that links them closely with the rest.

Section B: was identified straightforwardly as a collection of quasi-mythological texts relating the popular Andean version of the life of Christ. Elsewhere in the Andes a single text has been found containing all the episodes here found in separate texts from different informants (Stark 1976), which provided further grounds for classifying them together.

Section C: is a collection of tales involving the interaction of animal with animal, with only rare and incidental intervention from the human world. Within the section, sub-division was called for to distinguish the popular fox and rabbit cycle from more overtly didactic animal fables, less well integrated into the local repertoire. Tales 46-49 were placed in a sub-section on their own due to their more mythological or at least explanatory nature: in them the animal characters interact with the Creator figure (Mama Virgen, taita Dios, etc.)

Section D: contains humorous tales in which humans interact with humans; it is divided into two sub-sections according to whether they are of a comic-sacrilegious nature, or had more innocent entertainment value.

The tales thus arranged can be seen to progress from those that are closely related to the local belief system (humans interact with the non-human world] to those that appear barely affected by it (humans interact with humans). Yet again, it may be argued that even the Section D 'Humorous Tales' have a connection with the belief system - this time in a negative sense. In them we find depicted credulous fools who are taken in by the supernatural appearance of things; the heroine of Tale 1, who received genuine golden corn cobs from the hill father, has given way by Tale 64 to the gullible hero who took plastic toys to be made of gold. The arrangement of the tales thus traces a progression from the supernatural to reality, from religious belief to secularization and cynicism. This is no accident for, as the material will show, the narrative repertoire of the Cañar indian today is the result of a long-standing process of admixture with *mestizo* culture, and the move towards realism in oral narrative, away from the expression of indigenous beliefs, I believe to be part and parcel of such acculturation.

3.0 Theory of classification

I have stated that three factors had to be considered in setting up the method of classification: content, structure, and genre. On the whole, the last of these was the least influential. Section A, for example is a mixture of belief legends and folktales. Although these do tend to fall into separate sub-divisions, it is more by reason of their content and/or structure than their generic qualities. However, the question of genre is an essential one to discuss in this introductory chapter, if only due to the necessity of defining terms.

3.1 The question of genre

The discussion of genre theory is one that occupies much time and energy in folklore scholarship, and I shall limit myself to defining

the terms I have decided upon for the discussion of this corpus. (1)

The history of the search for definitions of forms of prose narratives in oral tradition began with the three categories established by the Grimm brothers, corresponding to the titles of their three works: Kinder und Hausmärchen (1812-1815); Deutsche Sagen (1816-1818), Deutsche Mythologie (1835), which were customarily rendered in English as: 'fairy tale', 'legend', and 'myth', respectively. Bascom's article on the question of genre definition remains to be superseded, and has been of some use. His conclusions take us back to Grimm, with the exception that he renders *Märchen* as 'folktale', noting that 'fairy tale':

"is inappropriate both because narratives about fairies are usually regarded as true, and because fairies do not appear in most folktales."
(Bascom 1965:4)

The terms to be used most often in relation to the Cañar texts are: tale, belief (or local) legend, memorat, folktale, and myth. To what extent has Bascom helped with my definition of these? I use the word 'tale' to apply to any piece of folk narrative, whatever its genre. This is less cumbersome than the term 'prose narrative', coined by Bascom as a blanket term to cover the whole field of what had otherwise often been loosely referred to as 'folktale'. 'Tale' is a convenient tag that shall be used in this study in reference to any one text: 'Tale 54', 'Tale 17', etc.

The term 'legend' is defined as follows by Bascom;

"prose narratives which, like myths, are regarded as true by the narrator and his audience, but they are set in a period considered less remote, when the world was much as it is today,"
(loc.cit.)

He goes on to typify legends as tales in which the principal characters are human, telling of migrations, wars, victories, etc., and notes that they may also include local tales of buried treasure, ghosts, fairies and saints. It is in this latter respect that much

of the Section A material can be classified as legend. According to Bascom's system a tale is a legend if it fulfills the following conditions: it is given a local setting, it takes place in relatively recent time (ie, not a former creation), it is believed in as fact by its teller, its main actors are human. Appearing to conform to such criteria are the following sub-sections of Section A: (a), (b), (c), and (d), and to a limited extent: (e), (f), and (h). This is more fully discussed in the introduction to that section.

Modifications I would add to Bascom's guidelines are firstly that the degree of belief in the legend as fact should be relative to the degree of cynicism exercised by the narrator; secondly that the fixing of the tale's action in realistic space or time should be flexible. We should be able to recognize a tale as a legend by the general descriptive background of its setting; locations such as *urcupi*, *sachapi*, etc, might be sufficient qualification, as these carry localized associations. The fixing in time criterion should be equally flexible. Not all the Cañar legends give us an indication of their temporal setting, although some refer to the action as having taken place in the *ñauipa tiempo*. This did not appear to be placing the tales in an age prior to this one (which might qualify them as myth), but rather simply a few generations back in the days, for example, before the common use of mechanized transport.

That the criteria for classing a tale as legend should not be as rigid as those of the Grimms, upon which Bascom is based, has been argued by Heda Jason, who calls not for fundamental alterations in their criteria, but rather for a reduction of their categories from absolute to relative ones. He takes as a case in point the determinant regarding the amount of belief the narrator and his audience may have in any given legend:

"Today we know that the quality of any narrator's attitude towards his tale is unstable, that it varies from individual to individual and even from period to period in the lifetime of a single individual."
(Jason 1971:143)

The degree of belief attached to their narratives by different Cañar informants certainly varied in this way, and some would claim scepticism perhaps out of embarrassment; so the belief determinant can certainly be no cut and dried issue.

Another theorist who has contributed importantly to the definition of genre is the Swedish folklorist C. von Sydow. According to his system the belief legends in Section A would be termed *Sage* or *Glaubensfabulat*, which he distinguishes from the *Memorat*. The latter is a form-less account of an individual experience, whereas the *Glaubensfabulat* is the more structured product of communal tradition. (von Sydow 1948:73-75) Lauri Honko has gone on from here to examine the processes by which *Memorate* may develop into belief legends and still be valuable reflectors of the folk belief system of the area where they are found. Due to the close and complementary relationship that was found between the two in the Cañar material it is worthwhile to look at his description:

"When an exciting description of a supernatural experience spreads from one district to another, it becomes schematic, and the spirits' activities, for eg., become concrete and graphic. Although this product is no longer close to the original experience, it may nevertheless remain in harmony with the memorate tradition and belief tradition of the locality."
(Honko 1964:12)

Von Sydow's classification has been adapted by the North American, E.K. Miller, in her arrangement of Mexican folk narratives from the Los Angeles area, which was helpful to me as an example of the application of theory to a specific case. For example, she notes that the devil narratives in her collection:

"range from well-structured stories indicative of established local legends to anecdotes about personal encounters and

fragmented commentaries functioning as expressions of beliefs rather than stories,"
(Miller 1973:33)

As far as my own material is concerned, while the texts presented correspond to "established local legends" (von Sydow's *Glaubensfabulate*), further questioning elicited "fragmented commentaries" expressing beliefs (von Sydow's *Memorate*). (2)

It remains to discuss the other terms I use to refer to genre: 'folktale' and 'myth', and the usefulness of Bascom's definitions here. "Folktales," he says, "are prose narratives which are regarded as fiction....(they) may be set in any time and any place, and in this sense are almost timeless and placeless." (loc.cit.) It is equivalent to the Grimms' *Märchen*. While the legend deals with supernatural events that are 'believed' by its bearers, and is regarded as pertaining to the real world of the narrator and his audience, the folktale or *Märchen* is not believed, although it too may deal with supernatural events (Jason op.cit.134). From the Cañar material it will be seen that few tales fit this category precisely. Most of the texts which bear likeness to the 'folktale' as here defined, also have an admixture of 'legend' characteristics. Even Tale 24 which is clearly a folktale has been influenced by local belief to some extent; in the representation of the devil as *hacendado*, for example. Only some borrowed tales that have hardly been altered by their new setting can be termed 'folktales' in the absolute sense, for example Tale 31. Additionally, the animal tales and humorous tales may largely be classed as 'folktales'.

"Myths," says Bascom, "are prose narratives which, in the society in which they are told, are considered to be truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past." And he goes on to define the main characters in myth as not usually human, although they may have human attributes, but as animals, deities or culture heroes. They are

usually set in an age when the world was different from today, and may account for the origin of things (*loc.cit.*), (3) To this I would add that myth is generally understood to have sacred qualities for the society to which it belongs; in the Andean context this particularly includes narrations that describe the former creations, how they evolved and how they ended, (4) The oft-cited Cañari origin myth has already been referred to and, although I found none myself, extant modern-day versions are known. As far as this definition is concerned, the material closest to fitting it in my own collection are the Christ Child tales (Section B). The action here is said to have taken place in the *tiempo de Dios Padre*, the term used to describe the age before the present one when, according to EDC for example, trees, stones and mountains could speak, (5) The degree to which the fox and rabbit cycle might also be regarded as myth is discussed in the introduction to Section C; certainly the explanatory tales involving interaction between these animals and the Creator figures might be viewed in such a light.

3.2 The Finnish-American School

Many previous attempts at the identification and classification of tale types have been inspired by the pioneer works of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson: The Motif-Index of Folk Literature, 6 vols. (1955-58), and The Types of the Folktale (1961). Their approach depends upon the isolation of salient features of content, be they objects, actors, customs or incidents, known as motifs, in order that tales may be grouped together as of the same type on the basis of having motifs in common. This method does not take into account structural considerations, which might call for a modification in that grouping. These pioneer works have however been of enormous bibliographical value in drawing together collections of folk narrative of diverse cultural origins, and have given rise to further indices based on their model

(Boggs 1930 , Hansen 1957, Robe 1973). However, none of these give adequate coverage of native American tale types of the Andean area, so as far as the classification of indigenous material is concerned they are of limited use, except where this contains evident borrowings from Indo-European culture. The most useful comparative work for the Quechua area has been done by Efraín Morote Best, who has made exhaustive comparisons of particular tale types for Peru, although unfortunately no overall index of types or motifs has yet been compiled (see Morote Best 1950b, 1953b, 1954?, 1957, 1958a, 1958b).

The Aarne-Thompson method has been criticized by Propp (1968:8-11), and Dundes has pointed out its limitations (1962b, 1964:38-39). It does indeed suffer from imprecision and an arbitrariness in its approach. Even the crucial distinction between tale type and motif is blurred in Thompson's definition: he makes the confusing assertion that 'simple incidents' are a class of motif which can be treated also as tale types (1946:416). This ambiguity arises from an inadequacy in his definition of motif which by allowing for actors, objects, customs, beliefs, and incidents all to fall under this heading, fails to delimit the unit as what Dundes has termed a 'measure of a single quantity' (1962b:97). If tales are to be classed according to their most salient features of content, yet there is no strict ruling for the isolation of these, an arbitrariness is bound to dominate the resulting classification. Propp points out the shortcomings of Aarne's method with the case of his classification of fairy tales. According to Aarne, these should be subdivided into those featuring: "(1) a supernatural adversary; (2) a supernatural husband (wife); (3) a supernatural task;" and so on. But, remarks Propp:

"What of those tales in which a supernatural task is resolved by a supernatural helper (which occurs very often), or those in which a supernatural spouse is also a supernatural helper?"
(op. cit. 10)

Dundes's criticism of the approach rests on its failure to take structural considerations into account. Tales may be placed in quite different categories when in fact the action of the story and its meaning for the actors is closely comparable and, at a structural level (in the Proppian sense), would cause them to be classed together as variants of each other. He illustrates this with the example of 'Tale Type 9: The Unjust Partner', which has been placed in the section devoted to 'Animal Tales' in the Aarne-Thompson work, on the grounds of the actors it contains being animals. This criterion fails to give weight to the fact that it is structurally the same story as 'Type 1030: The Crop Division', which appears, by the same token, in the 'Stupid Ogre' section (Dundes 1962b:98). For such reasons of structure, I have divided the Cañar devil narratives into three sub-groups, so factors of content and structure are both taken into account.

The main criticism that attaches to the Motif Index as a tool for the comparison of tale content is the fact that the entries are listed out of the contexts in which they occur. These contexts are of course determined by the culture to which they belong, yet Thompson's comparative method draws under a single heading motifs from vastly different areas, abstracting them from the environment that gives them their value. As a result we come across entries such as 'G200 Witch', which for the sake of simplicity and ease of reference equates the term 'witch' as it is found in such widely separated cultures as those of Western Europe, the Near East, Western Asia, Latin America, and Africa. Clearly the method can be misleading: the projection of terminology (the word 'witch') belonging to Western European tradition onto cultural institutions that perhaps have a different function in the societies to which they belong, is but one of the problems raised by such over-simplification.

Having said this, can we apply Thompson's motif categories to the Cañar material? Can we, to take a specific example, apply 'F360.1 Fairies pursue unbaptized children' to the behaviour of the *urcu yaya* in Tale 1: *Taita Charunmanta*? Taking the action at the level of structure it would seem this might be possible, but without knowing the cultural background to the Danish text from which Thompson's entry derives, many doubts must remain. To further illustrate the Motif Index's limitations, 'F460.4.7 Mountain-man as godfather' would appear to be directly applicable to the same Cañar tale, but on tracing back one of Thompson's references (to Type (A-T) 1165), we find the connection is misleading. Whereas in Tale 1 we have an implacable Andean hill-spirit, in A-T 1165 we have a Scandinavian troll who is easily outdone. The value of establishing such cross-cultural, Frazerian connections at the level of content is doubtful.

In summary, the tale type index has been useful mainly for the identification of tales or parts of tales that seem to have reached Cañar from diverse Euro-Asian origins. The Motif-Index is used with more caution for it could lead to suggesting similarities where none exist. However, in order to demonstrate the extent of its value for present purposes, I have included at the end of each text such correlations with Thompson motif entries ~~as~~ can safely be presumed to be borrowings, although there must be a margin for error and speculation in such an endeavour. In addition, I have included broadly defined motifs that might be said to be universally applicable; 'T510 Miraculous conception' could be an example of this.

3.3 The contribution of Propp

It was also found useful to draw on the theory of tale type identification demonstrated by Vladimir Propp in his Morphology of

the Folktale (1968), as an additional guide to determining categories for the Cañar material. Propp's work is valuable in leading us towards a morphological analysis of folktales at the level of 'function', defined, it would be useful to recall, as follows:

"An act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action."
(op.cit.21)

This type of analysis reveals similarities between tales which, as mentioned above, could be overlooked by the Aarne-Thompson approach. An important part of his method shows that all tales containing functions drawn from the same common axis can be deemed to be of the same type. In the case of his particular material he shows that 100 Russian fairy tales chosen at random are of one type. Tales may contain any number of combinations of a maximum 31 functions, in this case, and those tales found to contain identical combinations of functions are deemed sub-types of the type (op.cit.22-23).

Propp's method was useful up to a point for the classification of the Cañar material. It was found that all the Section A tales contained a selection of a common list of functions, the first three of which were indispensable for a tale to be allotted to that section. These functions are listed in full in the introduction to Section A. In fact all the four sections into which the tales were divided correspond to type groups, in the Proppian sense of the term. The functions found in the Section A tales are mutually exclusive of those that could be extracted for the Section B tales, and so on. This factor was brought in to modify the system of classification, so that it came to be based not solely on criteria of content. Due to the essential inter-dependence of structure and content, the consideration of both sets of criteria was not found to be incompatible, indeed they could be said to complement each other. At the classification stage, as at the analysis stage, it was never desirable to give such importance to

structural criteria that the value of the content might be underrated. The concern of this study is to examine the tales in their relationship not only to each other but also to the system of popular belief that surrounds them in the specific context of Cañar, so it would be defeating the object to abstract elements of the tales to a level at which such culturally determined features might be lost. So the criterion of content is prominent at the classification stage, as the 'List of tales' suggests.

In support of my reservations with regard to Propp, it should be noted that he has been criticized particularly on the grounds that he does not take enough into account the ethnographic context of the tales he is analysing (Lévi-Strauss 1960 :137-141). This failing, in the view of Lévi-Strauss, is an outcome of Russian formalist methodology, which for scientific purposes divorces form from content, relegating the latter to a secondary position of importance:

"Propp fait deux parts dans la littérature orale: une forme, qui constitue l'aspect essentiel, parce qu'elle se prête à l'étude morphologique, et un contenu arbitraire, auquel, pour cette raison, il n'accorde qu'une importance accessoire."
(op.cit.137)

This structuralist critique leads on to demonstrate the importance of specific features of content and the way in which generalizations such as Propp's can obscure the cultural symbolism innate in those features. One of the examples Lévi-Strauss uses shows how it would be wrong to subsume the terms 'plum tree' and 'apple tree', in relation to certain N. American Indian tales, under the common heading 'tree', for it is in the essence of these two words that important native categories of thought are to be perceived: the plum tree being associated with fecundity and the apple tree with strength and rapport with the earth due to its long roots (op.cit.141). This argument encourages my reluctance to take Propp's methodology to its extreme in the attempt to identify tale types for Cañar. The ethnographic significance of

content should always be kept in mind; journeys made on foot to Cuenca in days before the introduction of mechanized forms of transport have acquired a mystique in the oral tradition of the people, and ~~this should be differentiated from the beliefs that surround~~ abandoned *hacienda* buildings, which also lend themselves to explanation in ethnographic and historical terms,

Propp's methods have, therefore, been of some help in isolating the tale types represented in the classification. Where his argument really comes into its own, however, is in the analysis, and in the discussion of that stage I shall explain how this was so. In concluding this present discussion, it seems relevant to note that to date no folklorist, however much he may support the Proppian method, has successfully employed it in the classification of folktales, Propp himself discussed its potential usefulness for classificatory purposes (op.cit,99-104), but never undertook such a task. I consider that an unmodified application of his method would be too difficult for classification purposes, and as one-sided as the comparative methods of the Finnish-American school have been shown to be. But I am in agreement with Dundes, who has put forward a convincing argument for the use of morphological approach as a complement to, rather than a substitute for the comparative one;

"Assuming that there may be different formulaic sequences of motifs for different kinds of folktales or for folktales in different culture areas, there could well be a tale-type index based upon morphological criteria. But this index would be in addition to the Aarne-Thompson type-index and would be cross-referenced so that a folktale scholar could tell at a glance what Aarne-Thompson tale types belonged to which morphological tale types."
(Dundes 1962b:104)

Such a project as he suggests would be an ambitious one, but in essence I agree with what he is saying; that the criteria of tale structure should be combined with criteria of content when devising

a system of classification, and it is in this way that I arrived at the divisions shown in the 'List of tales',

4.0 Method of analysis

The aim of the analysis of the tales is to clarify the nature of the relationship between them at the levels of structure and of content. The breakdown of the tales into sections at the classification stage has already established that such a relationship exists between tales belonging to the same section, at least, and it will now be necessary to underline those features which give them their group identity in each case. Where applicable, the connections between tales and the local belief system will also be examined.

The differing nature of the material from one section to the other calls for a corresponding variation in emphasis in the analytical approach adopted. Sometimes an equal emphasis is given to the analysis of structure and content; in other cases, greater emphasis is laid on the analysis of content, with less upon that of structure. I shall now summarize for each section in turn the emphasis in approach that is given, and the reasons for it.

Section A: this section contains exactly half of the whole corpus, and comprises 32 texts, many of them disparate in content, through which, I shall contend, there runs a common underlying structural pattern. The means by which I set out to prove this is described in more detail in the introduction to that section, but here I shall define and discuss what is meant by the term structural analysis in the context of this investigation, and with particular reference to Section A where it is of special importance.

The term is used both in the sense of syntagmatic structure and in that of paradigmatic structure. (6) The first of these seeks to outline the narrative pattern of a text by showing the chronological

or linear sequence followed by its events; the second to show the underlying relationship that obtains between parts of a tale one to the other and what this relationship can be said to represent.

To the first of these ends, each text is tabulated to show the chronological sequence of events which comprise it, such events being referred to as 'episodes'. The term refers to the description of a single action in the course of the narrative, eg. 'episode iii: Taita Buerán invites H to enter his home' (Tale 2). (7) The episodes are grouped together into larger units termed 'moves', a term which derives from Propp, used to describe a logically complete set of episodes which may or may not then lead on to another move (1968:92-3). A tale may contain only one move (consisting of any number of episodes), or it may comprise a series of moves.

All the Section A tales may be considered to belong to one and the same type group, in the Proppian sense, in that they draw upon a common list of 'functions'. The list of functions in question is given in the introduction to the section. The correlation of individual tales with this list of functions helps also towards the identification of common features of narrative pattern existing between tales of outwardly distinct features of content. To take an example: it can be seen how the sequence of functions: 1:Initial situation→2:Journey→3:Encounter etc., applies equally to the tale of the traveller on the road to Cuenca who meets the devil (eg. Tale 8), as to the tale of the girl who meets the rainbow while tending her flocks out on the hills (Tale 19).

Analysis of paradigmatic structure is derived in part from the techniques of Claude Lévi-Strauss, by which the inner relations of parts of a tale to each other, and the terms of the oppositions and parallels that these could be said to express, are shown. (8) The

example. Thus, in Section A, a study of comparative texts and ethnographic data is given the same weight as the structural analysis.

Section B: the cyclical nature of the Christ Child tales presupposes a kinship between them, and it is not necessary to undertake the kind of structural analysis as was carried out for Section A in order to prove this. The main emphasis is upon comparative analysis, which reveals how much the Cañar texts contribute to the wider tradition of such tales in the Andes. A commentary on certain aspects of structure does follow this, with the aim of suggesting affinities at that level with other areas of Andean oral tradition.

Section C: in the case of sub-section (i), the peculiar episodic character of the fox and rabbit cycle calls for an analysis of linear structure in the form of a breakdown of the distribution of episodes across 28 comparative versions of the tale. Thus, comparative and structural analysis go hand in hand. With sub-sections (ii) and (iii), the main emphasis is on comparative analysis only, as there is little foundation for arguing a common structural framework for this mixture of tales, many of them appearing to be unaltered borrowings.

Section D: with the humorous tales, again little can be said in terms of their structure in determining a relationship between them, although in some cases structural connections suggest themselves with tales belonging to other sections - Tale 58 is a notable example. Here too the emphasis is on content analysis, and comparative references. The tales are largely borrowings, and many are found to be closely comparable to A-T types.

Incorporated into the analysis of each section is a commentary on the features that can be found in common with tales pertaining to other sections, both at the levels of structure and of content. The divisions imposed by classification are but an analytical artifice,

and should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the tales are the product of a creative impulse that takes no account of such things. Thus it is in the Christ Child tales, to take one example, that we find curious echoes of both the devil legends and of the fox and rabbit cycle.

5.0 Theory of analysis

Above, I made a brief reference to the fact that narrative structure and content are interdependent to such an extent that the one can be found to explain borrowings or transformations in the other. (10) I have said that the combination of structural and comparative approaches to the analysis of tales will serve to reveal a common underlying pattern running through tales of the same type, and Section A serves as a working model for this. In that section particularly, it is to be shown that the existence of such a pattern can explain the adoption of certain migratory tales, which can be found to follow that pattern wholly or in part, whilst features of content may differ. There can be said to be a structural compatibility between the already existing tale, and the borrowed tale that encourages the borrowing.

My theoretical standpoint in this respect finds support in the views of Maranda and Kōngas Maranda who have said, for example, in their introduction to The Structural Analysis of Oral Tradition:

"At present we are inclined to think that the most important frame of a narrative is its own socio-cultural background, even in the case of borrowed plots, for plots (and other narrative materials) can only be borrowed if they fit or can be molded to fit the culture, more exactly the level of culture which we would call deep structures."
(1971a:ix)

By 'deep structures' they mean something akin to '*langue*' as opposed to '*parole*', thus borrowing terms from linguistics. The analogy would be completed by equating individual examples of texts with '*parole*', whereas the '*langue*' constitutes the fund of beliefs and traditions

of narrative structure of any given culture, with which members of that culture must be able to identify a text before borrowing it, or handing it down:

"Instances of narrative communication (texts) are on the level of performance and can be called surface structures; under every performance there is a process in which some materials, such as inherited or international tale plots, or actual experiences, are transformed to fit the deep ('timeless') structures of the culture,"
(loc.cit.)

The borrowed plots to be found in the Cafiir material are to be found intermixed with indigenous ones to a great extent, but sub-section (i) contains some tales that have not been so fully adapted. In the introduction to that sub-section I shall refer again to the theoretical grounds upon which I can include them there at all, which are perhaps best summed up by Dundes as follows:

"The structural approach to folktales might help to elucidate the rationale underlying one culture's borrowing folktales from another. For instance it is possible that if a culture already possessed indigenous examples of a given structural type, it might be much more likely to accept foreign examples of the same type or perhaps alter borrowings in such a way as to make them conform to the preferred structural type."
(1962a:173)

The implications of this theory have a practical value to the researcher who is anxious to discover the '*langue*' of a given culture's narrative traditions. It results, as Hymes notes, in even blatantly borrowed material having an intrinsic interest for the overall conclusions:

"The occurrence of a reworked European tale in an Indian pueblo may evoke amusement, or embarrassment, if one thinks of one's goal as autochthonous texts. If one thinks of one's goal as natively valid rules, such a case may be an invaluable opportunity to verify the principles of the native genre through an instance of their productivity."
(Hymes 1971:51-52)

The holistic approach adopted in the analysis makes it possible for the tales to be divided into sections according to type, but for comparisons still to be drawn across these boundaries. So points in

common, either of structure or of content, will be found between Sections A, B, C, and D, as well as within them. I have already made this observation, and could conclude by offering one final example, in the connection that could be suggested between the serious local legends of Section A and the sacrilegious tales of Section D, which could be said to be their comic counterpart and indicative, I repeat, of the results of acculturation.

FOOTNOTES

- (1) For an up-to-date review of the scholarship, see Ben-Amos (1974)
- (2) For further discussion of the legend genre, and the relationship between it and belief, see: Lüthi (1969), Dégh and Vazsonyi (1971), Georges (1971).
- (3) See also Leach(M) (1949) for 21 definitions of 'myth'.
- (4) For a comprehensive survey of Andean creation myths, many contained in the chronicles, see Mishkin (1940).
- (5) Fock and Krener have further details of concepts regarding the *época de Dios Padre*: "*Primero vivieron bajo el dominio del Dios Padre, cuando el Sol era un dios con el cual se podía hablar y donde piedras, animales, plantas y toda la Creación estaba dotado del don del habla y habla dueños Urcuyaya que vigilaban cada uno su región alrededor de un cerro.*" (1977a:11), cf. also Muñoz Bernand's findings in Pindilig (n.d.2).
- (6) Dundes discusses this distinction between the approaches of Propp and Lévi-Strauss respectively in his introduction to Propp (op.cit.xi-xii).
- (7) For a discussion of the history of the terminology of folktale analysis see Dundes (1964 :28-30).
- (8) For demonstration of the method from which I derive this approach, see Lévi-Strauss (1972, 1967). Mine is a much simplified version, of course.
- (9) The discussion as to whether tales have an innate inner pattern cannot be gone into here, but for a resumé of it see Dundes (1974:77), also Lévi-Strauss (1970:2).
- (10) The use of the term 'transformation' also derives from Propp (1972).

CHAPTER 3 (*)

Section A: Tales of encounters with the non-human world

Introduction

The narrative pattern which can be said to be common to the material assembled in this section is identified according to necessarily broad terms of comparison. It is by no means the case that every tale follows the same pattern in every detail. This is a motley collection of texts in comparison, for example, with Propp's 100 Russian fairy tales. The latter were found to contain the same functions due to their generic unity and relatively unacculturated state (op.cit.100). The present collection possesses neither of these qualities, so therefore their common functions and the pattern these follow are of a less specific nature than Propp's definitions. A list of functions extracted for the Section A texts is as follows:

Broad definition of functions occurring in Section A tales

- 1 INITIAL SITUATION
hero/heroine (H) is set apart from community by physical or moral circumstances
- 2 JOURNEY
H goes away from home (sometimes inherent in 1)
- 3 ENCOUNTER
H comes into contact with non-human agent
- 4 INTERACTION
relationship established between H and non-human agent
- 5 SUPERNATURAL BIRTH
H gives birth to non-human or semi-human child
- 6 MEDIATION
third party acts on behalf of H, offering help or protection
- 7 H ARRIVES AT OTHER WORLD
- 8 OUTCOME OF OTHER WORLD CONTACT
H receives information or objects from non-human agent
- 9 RESOLUTION
 - a) non-human agent is overcome
 - b) H dies as result of Encounter
 - c) H derives material benefit from Encounter
 - d) H returns home

(*) Due to its extreme length, footnotes are placed at the end of sub-sections in this chapter.

The analyses of the individual sub-sections will show how the tales, differing from each other in genre and content, contain a significant proportion of these functions. Functions 1-4 are common to them all, without exception, and are the main justification on structural grounds for placing the tales in one and the same section. They constitute what I choose to call 'type-defining' functions; in possessing them, a tale warrants classification in this type-group or section.

Section A sub-section (a): Tales of the *urou yaya*TextsTale 1: Taita Charunmanta

Shug huarmizitu ricushca nin auca huahuata aparishpa, Charun quinraita pasash uraiman. Chaimanta nishca nin huarmizituta: - ¿Maimanta ricungui? - nish Charun Yaya llugshishpa c'ayashca nin.
 Chaimanta Charun Yaya c'ayagpi nishca nin: - Ñucapish ricuni Biblianman ashun sarata mashcaringapa - nish.
 Chaimanta nishca nin Charun Yayaca: - Bueno, ñuca sarata juyachisha. Shamui huarmizitu - nish.
 Chaimanta huarmitaca aparishca ucuman.

Huarmitaca ucupica nishca nin: - Cai sarata ishcai - nishca nin.
 Chaimanta huarmizituca monton sarapi tarirish ishcai callarishca nin juin. Yurag sara nin, yana sara nin, puca sara, tucui chaicuna saratami. Chaita ishcuypica chai huarmitaca nishca nin: - Ñucapish cachashallami canmanca sarata. Ringu huahuacunaman carangui - nish. Chaimanta nishca nin: - ¿Manchu ñuca bautisachish cusha camba huahuataca? - nishca nin.
 Chairicumi huarmica nishca nin: - Buenoiari, compadre, bueno.
 - Ñucaca bautisachishpa cusha canman sarata - nish.
 Chaimantami Charun Yayata compadre ruhuashea.

Charun Yaya compadre ruhuagpi ishcai caspallata cushca: yana caspahuan yurag caspahuan. Chaimanta nishca nin: - Ri canca caita apashpa. Chai huarmizituca juin pobre cashca. Chaimanta pobre cagpica huarmizituca juin chayagyamushea. Saraca curi cashca mana sara cashca. Charun Yaya cush cachashea.

Chaimanta entonces paica purinata yachashea nin cada rato chai compadrepaman. Compadreca cada rigta sarata cush cachashea nin. Chaimantaca ashun chayugyamushea nin huarmica ña shina. Chaimanta sarata cush cachagpica entonces paica purishca nin cada semana ña compadrepaman. Compadreca cutin chayug comadre chayana punzhaca ña sarataca ima mundota apag cashca. Montonash charicushea nin ishecuchingapa. Chaimanta paicanca solo ishcaillata cush cachanata yachashea.

Chaimanta Charunca comadretaca nishca nin: - De una vez mana cachasha. Ñucahuan causai caillapi - nishca nin.
 Comadreca nishca nin: - Ñuca huahuacuna ¿ima tucunga? Ñuca cusa ¿ima tucunga? Compadre, ñuca cutirishallami - nishca nin.
 Chaimanta paica ña cachashea asha yantata apachishpa, sarata apachishpa ña.

Chaimanta shamucushca nin huasiman cutingapa. Huasiman cutingapa shamucuppi cusa tupashpa nishca nin: - Canca ¿maimantata shamucungui cai horasca?

Ñigpica nishca nin: - Ñuca compadrepamantami shamucuni. Compadre yantahuan sarahuan oun - nish.
 Chaimanta paica entonces ña huasiman chayamushea. Huasiman chayamushpa huahuataca sueñachishca nin ucupi.

Chaimantaca p'uyu paramo shamushea nin. P'uyu paramo shamugpi cutin Charun Yayaca c'atish shamushea nin huahuataca. Huahuatashi c'atish shamush paicuna sueñachigpica Charun Yayaca aparishca nin ña cutishpa. Charun Yayamanta marcashea huahuata aparishca nin. Chaimanta marcashea huahuata aparigpi chai huarmica nishca nin: - Ñuca compadremi shamush aparin - nishca.

Chaimanta ña cutin huarmi c'atigrishca nin. Huarmi c'atigrigpica ña

mana yaicui valishca nin. Chaimanta huahuaca ña mana tupashca nin
 paihuanea. Chaimanta huacashpa cutin shamushca nin. - Compadre maldito,
 ¿imamantata ñuca huahuata apashpa mana cungui? - nishpa ña.
 Entonces c'atish cutin shamushca nin. Ña mana tarishpa cusahuan
 p'inanacushca nin: - Ñuca huahuata compadremán cush cachangui - nishpa.
 Chaimanta cusahuan macanacushca nin: - ¿Ñucachu cush cachashcani?
 Compadrellata.
 Chaimanta cusaca mana huarmita cachasha nishca nin. Huarmita mana
 cachasha nigpi huarmica pacalla rishca nin compadrepaman yaicusha
 nishpa.

Chaimanta entonces huarmita ña compadre ucuman yaicuchishca, mas mana
 llugshishca. Chaipi encantarish saquirishca. Huahuaca sara montón;
 mamaca sacha tucush saquirishca chai ucupi ña. Charun Yayahuan causan
 nin cunancama. Chaimi.

The Old Man of Charun hill

A woman was once out walking, carrying with her a child that was not
 yet baptized. She was going down into the valley along the slopes of
 Charun. At that moment the Old Man of Charun appeared and called to
 her: "Where are you going?"
 "I'm going down to Biblian to fetch a little maize," she replied.
 "I can give you maize on credit," he said, "come with me, little woman."
 And he took the woman into the hill.

Once they were inside, he told her: "Strip this maize."
 She found herself sitting on a great pile of maize cobs and so began
 to strip them of their grains. There was maize of all colours to be
 stripped: white maize, black maize, red maize. While she was busy,
 the Old Man spoke to her: "I shall give you some maize to take home
 and feed to your children. By the way," he continued, "why don't I
 baptize the child for you?"
 "Very well," said she.
 "If you let me baptize your child, I shall make you gifts of maize,"
 he was saying.
 And so the Old Man of Charun became the child's godfather, and the
 woman's *compadre*.

Once he had become her *compadre*, he gave the woman just two corn cobs;
 a black one and a white one. "Take these home with you," he told her.
 It happened that the woman was very poor, but now she became very rich,
 for the maize she was given turned out to be gold, not maize at all!

After that she used to visit her *compadre's* house frequently. Every
 time she went, he would send her home with gifts of golden maize and
 thus she became richer and richer. On the days that she was due to
 visit him, the Old Man would have a great pile of maize ready in the
 house for her to strip. And then he would give her just two cobs to
 take home with her.

One day Old Man Charun said to the woman: "I'm not going to send you
 home once and for all. You must stay and live here with me."
 "Oh no, *compadre*, I must go along home. What would become of my husband
 and children without me?"
 And so he sent her home carrying gifts of firewood and corn cobs.

As she was coming along the road towards home, her husband met with her; "And where are you coming from at this time of day?" he demanded, "I'm coming from my *compadre's* house. He gives me firewood and maize," And so she arrived home and set about putting her child to bed.

Suddenly a thick mist came down and the wind blew a bitter drizzle about the house. Under cover of the mist and drizzle, Old Man Charun came after his godchild. Just as it was falling asleep in its bed, he carried it away. As he carried his godchild away, the mother cried: "My *compadre* is carrying my child away!"

So she went after him, but reaching the place, she found that she could not get in. So the child was unable to meet with its mother. Weeping she returned home crying: "Oh cursed *compadre*, why have you taken my child from me?"

Now when she got home without finding the baby, her husband was very angry with her: "You've given my baby away to your *compadre*!" he accused her.

They began to fight each other with blows, and she cried: "What do you mean, I gave it away? He himself came and took it," After that her husband wasn't willing to let her return to the *compadre's* house, so, as she was intent on seeking an entrance there, she slipped away secretly.

This time the Old Man let her in. But he was never to let her out again. There she stayed under a spell. Her child was transformed into a heap of maize, while she turned into a mountain bush. There they remained within the hill and it is said that to this day they live there with Old Man Charun. That's my story.

Informant: JMT, 7th July 1976

- F460 Mountain spirits
- N511.3.1 Treasure of mountain spirit
- D475.1 Transformation: objects to gold
- C42 Tabu: offending mountain spirit
- C953 Person must remain in other world because of broken tabu
- C961 Transformation to object for breaking tabu
- C961.3.2 Transformation to tree for breaking tabu

Tale 2: Taita Bueranmanta

Taita Bueranca solo ugshata charin nin, mana sachata charin nin, Taita Bueranca suenashca nin, chairicumí mana sachata charin nin, solo ugshallata charin nin. Taita Bueranca semejante p'iña juin, Rabiarihpaca juin tamiachin, paramochin, p'uyu tapan tucui Buerantaca. Taita Bueranca chayugmí nin: papa, uca, millucu, tucui chaicunata p'ucuchin. Semejante huertayu ninmi nin, huasha ladoman: Taita Bueranca papa, uca, millucu huertata charin nin.

Chaimanta entonces Taita Bueranca purishca nin, Shug huambritu michingapa llugshishpa nin, animalcunata chingachishpa puricushca, Chaipica tupashca nin: - Canca imatata ruhuash puricungui? - nishca nin huambrituta.

- Nucaca animalcunatami chingachish puricuni - nishca nin huambrituca, Chaipi nishca nin Taita Bueran: - Jacu ñucahuan sueñanguí cunan tutaca, Cayaca shamunguillami - nishca nin -, ima achca animalcunaca pacaríngallami - nish chai huambrituca rishca nin Taita Bueranhuan.

Chaimantaca jatun ucucupi yaicuchin nin ucuman. Chaipica nina nin:
- Riqui ñuca huertacuna caitami charini, huambritu - nish huambrituman
ricuchin nin.

Papa nin, ucu nin, millucu nin, tucui chaicuna montonashca nin. Puro
curi nin chaica ña. Uca juin brillacun nin, papapish lo mismo nin,
millucupish lo mismo brillacun nin. Curi brillacun nin, paica jatun
zhiru yaya ucupica nin. Chaimanta entonces huambrituca huacai
callarishca nin.

- Ama huacaichu, ñuca rabiarihipa pagta mana cachaiman - nishca nin.
Entonces huambrituca chairicu mana huacashca, rabiarihipa mana
cachashachu nigpi.

Chaimantaca huambrituca chai punzha chaillapita cainashca. Mana
llugchish cachashca nin. Chaimantaca Taita Bueranca nina nin:
- Huambritu, ¿anca risha ninguichu?

Nigpica huambrituca nishca nin: - Bueno, ñucaca risha ninimi. Ñuca
mama ñuca taitaca chapacungami maipi ima tucurea nishpa,
Chaipi entonces huambritutaca: - Shuyai ashallituta p'uyu tapangacama -
nishca nin.

Chai huambrituca shuyashca nin. P'uyu tapagpica huambrituta
maquimanta aisashpa paillata llugchish cachashca nin ñampi churashpa.

Chaimanta huambrituca shamushca animalcunata ricungapa. Huambritu
lomaman llugshigpica animalcunaca chaillapitashi cashca. Mana maiman
rishca nin. Taita Bueranmanta separaringacamallashi p'uyushca.
Chaimantaca juin achig sumag punzha cashca nin.

Chaimanta huambrituca mama yayaman parlag shamushca nin: - Ñuca animal
chingachishpa chaipi pacarircani, chaipi shug runami ucuman aparin,
Ucupica ima mundomí cashca - nish parlashca.

Chaimanta nishca nin: - Taita Bueranmi cashcanga - nishca nin -, Taita
Bueranca canta pacashcanga. Chaimi sueñanguí - nishpa.
Huambrituca quince diasllata purishca nin shina. Chaimanta huambrituca
huafiusheca nin. Taita Bueran ricushcami huafiusheca nishpa.

Chaimantaca entonces ña Taita Bueranca cutin shug huarmihuan tupashca
nin, shinallata. Huarmihuan tupagpica Taita Bueranca mana rimarishca
huarmica atish callpasheca "alau" nish atish callpagpi Taita Bueran
c'atish puricushpallata ña mana avansashca c'atinata ña, p'uyura
pascarisheca.

Ña gente chugpicunaman yaicushpa huarmica atishca. Chaimanta atish
huarmica juin novedad ruhuashca nin: - Caipi ñucata shug runa c'atimun,
uchillalla runa - nishpa.

Gentecunaman novedad ruhuagpica gentecunaca rishca nin ricungapa.

Chaimanta ña Taita Bueranpa cuchuman chayarigpica chai ratoca ña juin
tamia p'uyu shamushca nin. Chai runacunapish cutin chingarishca nin
shug sachapi mai. Burgay lado sachapi taririgrishca. Chaimanta
nishca nin: - Taita Bueranmi chingash cachan caitan - nishpa.

Ña paicunaca sachamantaca shamushca nin cai Biblian ladoman llugshingapa.
Shinashpami Taita Bueranca chaipica p'iña ucupí causan nishpa parlancuna
mayorcuna. Tucurirca.

The Old Man of Bueran

Old Man Bueran has only grass on his slopes, he has no trees or bushes. They say that he was asleep and that is why he has no trees, but only grass. Old Man Bueran is very ill-tempered. When he gets angry he makes it rain and drizzle and a mist covers the whole of Bueran. Old Man Bueran is rich they say: he cultivates potatoes, *oca* and *melloco*. He has a very big vegetable plot over on the other side they say: a plot of potatoes, *oca* and *melloco*.

So one day Old Man Bueran was out walking. There was a young lad who had come out herding and was wandering about having lost his animals. Then Old Man Bueran asked him: "What are you doing about here?" "I've lost my animals," said the boy. Old Man Bueran said: "Come and spend the night with me. Tomorrow you can just come back. Such a large group of animals will be quite safe for the night." And the young lad went with Old Man Bueran.

Then he showed him into a huge room inside the hill. There he said: "Look at the plots of vegetables I have here," and he showed the boy the piles of potatoes, *oca* and *melloco* he had there. But it was gold. The *oca* was shining brightly, so were the potatoes, and the *melloco* the same. The gold was shining there in the mountain chamber of the Old Man of mottled dress. Then the boy began to weep. "Don't cry," warned the Old Man, "be careful not to anger me for then I shan't let you go." And so for fear of angering him and not being sent home, the boy didn't cry.

And so the boy spent the day right there. The Old Man didn't send him out. Then he spoke: "Lad, do you want to go now?" "Yes," replied the boy, "I do want to go. My mother and father will be watching out and wondering what has happened to me." "Well wait a little while until the mist covers the hill." So the boy waited. Then when the mist covered them, the Old Man took the boy by the hand, took him out himself and set him on the road.

Then the lad came to look for the animals. As he came out onto the top of a hill, there they were right there. They hadn't gone away anywhere. The day was very foggy right until Old Man Bueran separated from the lad. Then after that it was a bright sunny day.

So the boy came back and told his parents: "I spent the night there when I lost the animals and an Indian carried me inside the hill. There were many things in there." "It must have been Old Man Bueran," they said, "Old Man Bueran must have hidden you." Then they told the boy to sleep. He went about for just two weeks, then he died. They say he died for having seen Old Man Bueran.

Then again, Old Man Bueran is said to have met with a woman in the same way. When he met her he didn't speak and the woman ran away in fear. When she cried out and ran away, Old Man Bueran just followed after her, but wasn't able to catch up with her for the mist hadn't closed in yet.

So the woman escaped back to her folk. Then she made a great fuss: "An Indian has been following me," she said, "just a tiny little Indian." And when she made this fuss, the people went to see.

When they arrived in Old Man Bueran's neighbourhood, a heavy rain and fog came down. So now those Indians got lost way off in the woods. They came out in the woods on the slopes of Burgay. "Old Man Bueran has sent us to get lost here," they said. Then they came out of the forest and out into a place near Biblian. That is how the old folks talk, saying that an angry Old Man Bueran lives in the hill. There it ends.

Informant : JMT, 7th July, 1976.

Motifs as for Tale 1, plus:

D1418.1 Magic mist causes people to become lost

Tale 3: Taita Bueranmanta

Ricungui: caipi shug cuentota parlagrini chai Bueranpi shug michidor chingarishca. Shug michidorzitu llugshirca michingapa Bueranpi. Chaimantaca shug p'uyu shamurca y p'uyu taparca ña, tarde na. P'uyupi animalcuna chingarishca. Huambrituca animalcunata mashcasha ricushca, juin, p'uyupi mana acertashpa, maita animalcuna rishca mana acertashpa puricushca.

Tupashca ña Taita Bueran nishcaca. Nin que nishpaca aparishca; - Jacu huasipi sueñungui - nishpa pusharishca huambrituca. Chaimantaca huasipi chayagpica ucupica ima mundo huasica brillacun: tucui papa, ima millucu, tucui munashca cosas ucupica cashca juin.

Chaimantaca cayandica ña huambrituca llugshin ña rinimi nishpaca. Ucumanta llugshish shamun bastante achca cullquita munashca migllashca punchupi. Migllash aparish shamun punchupi. Huambrituca mana pudish. Entonces canzhaman huasi ucumanta llugshigpica paicuenta apagpica ña punchuta pascash ricun: - Caipi achca cullqui apag shamuni - nishpaca. Ricupica mana cierto cashca cullqui sino bestia huanu cashca. Chaipi shiguag shitashca shamun.

The Old Man of Bueran

Here I'm going to tell a story about a shepherd boy who got lost on Bueran Hill. A little shepherd boy went out to pasture the flocks on Bueran. Then a mist came down and covered everything; it was late now. The animals got lost in the mist. The lad went looking for the animals but in the mist he couldn't find where they had gone.

He met Old Man Bueran, as he is called. He took the lad with him saying: "Come and you can sleep in my house." When they arrived inside, the house was full of shining things: potatoes, mellocos, fruit, all kinds of things were in there.

Then the next day the lad came out. As he came outside he was carrying alot of money gathered in his poncho, so much he could hardly manage it. Then when he had come out of the house he opened his poncho to have a look, thinking he had alot of money. But it wasn't money at all, but horse manure! So he scattered it on the ground and came away.

Informant : MAV, 29th June, 1976.

Motifs as for Tale 1, plus:

F348.0.1 (Fairy) gift disappears or is turned to something worthless when tabu is broken

Commentary

1.0 Introduction

These three texts are belief legends which have evolved to varying degrees away from the memorat stage, and as such demonstrate the relationship that can exist between popular belief and tale. Further, less developed statements of belief, triggered off by the questionnaire, provided useful background information which helped to clarify their content and its debt to the belief system. The informants for such additional data were: EDC, GZP, LA, MEZ, JSA, GGG, and ECZ. I shall look first at the tales' narrative structure, at which level similarities might be seen with tales in the other subsections.

2.0 Narrative structure

2.1 Tale 1

| Tale 1: Taita Charunmanta | | | |
|---------------------------|---------|--|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | woman (H) carrying unbaptized child | 1 |
| | i | H wanders on slopes of Charun hill | 2 |
| | ii | H meets Taita Charun (TC) | 3 |
| | iii | TC offers H maize and leads her away | 4 |
| | iv | H arrives within hill | 7 |
| | v | TC becomes child's godfather and H's <i>compadre</i> ; H strips cobs of corn for him | 4 |
| | vi | H is given golden corn cobs | 8 |
| II | vii | H returns home rich | 9c |
| | viii | H visits her <i>compadre</i> again | 4 |
| | ix | TC asks her to remain with him; she refuses | |
| III | x | H returns home with golden corn cobs and firewood | 9c |
| | xi | TC comes to H's house and takes away his godchild | 4 |
| | xii | H goes in pursuit and enters hill | 7 |
| | xiii | H and child confined forever within hill | 9b |

The above chart lays out the linear development of the plot, in the way described in Chapter 2, dividing it into episodes and grouping these as moves. The identification of episode(s) with function (according to the definitions laid out in the introduction to this section) will serve a comparative purpose, showing how all the legends and folktales in the section contain some of a common range of functions.

The tale's inner structure can best be described in terms of the moves into which it has been divided. Move I, describing the entry of H into a relationship of *compadrazgo* with the *urcu yaya* leads up to her return home as a rich woman. Move II is structurally repetitive of Move I, in that it describes the consolidation of that relationship, and leads up to H's return home with still further material gains as an outcome of it. In Move III the tables are turned: the *urcu yaya* claims his due as *compadre*, and mother and child are confined forever within his domain. Thus the paradigmatic scheme underlying the tale could be described: $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Move I} \\ \text{Move II} \end{array} \right\} : \text{Move III}$, in which Moves I and II as equivalent are opposed to Move III.

Unlike the pattern followed by many tales, and the devil legends in particular, there is no mediator rôle in this tale. The relationship between actors is one-to-one between human and non-human, founded on the patterns of reciprocity typical of *compadrazgo*. When the laws that govern such a relationship are violated - the heroine fails to fulfill her obligations - there is no intervention on her behalf to save her from punishment. The unbaptized status of the child in the initial situation operates to explain the vulnerability of mother and infant at the beginning of the tale. Throughout this section it will be seen that vulnerability of one kind or another is a prerequisite for the encounter with the non-human agent to take place. Such vulnerability is established by a variety of devices, and always in accord with the moral and social code of the local culture. (1)

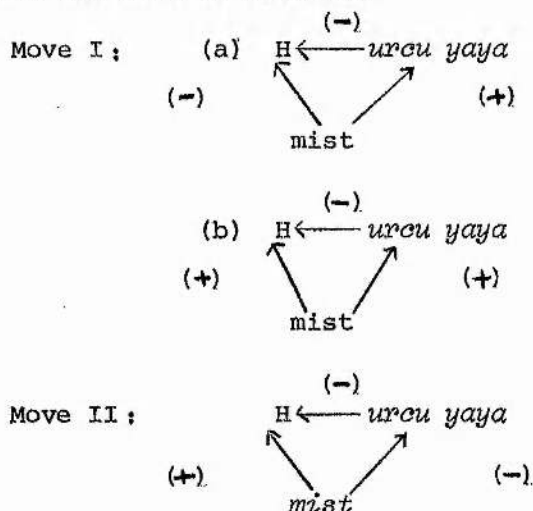
2.2 Tale 2

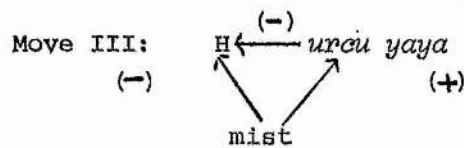
| Tale 2: <i>Taita Bueranmanta</i> | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------|--|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | Taita Bueran is out walking on hill | 1 |
| | i | Shepherd boy (H) loses animals on hill and wanders in search of them | 2 |
| | ii | H meets Taita Bueran (TB) | 3 |
| | iii | TB invites H to enter his home | 4 |
| | iv | H arrives inside hill; sees gold | 7 |
| | v | told not to cry or will not return home | 4 |
| | vi | TB accompanies H back under cover of mist | |
| | vii | H returns home and dies 2 weeks later | 9b |
| II | i | woman (H) out wandering in same way | 2 |
| | ii | meets TB who cannot catch her as not sufficient mist | 3 |
| | iii | H returns home unharmed | 9d |
| III | iv | woman's folk go in pursuit of TB | 2 |
| | v | TB causes them to get lost in mist | 4 |
| | vi | pursuers are outwitted by TB | 9 |

This tale comprises in effect two separate legends, as Move I does not of necessity lead on to the others, but could stand on its own as an independent unit. They are legends that have not moved very far from the memorat stage, as their relative narrative simplicity shows, and had the informant attributed the happenings to an actual acquaintance, they would have been treated as such. Moves II and III, however, are logically connected, III developing out of II, when H's return home triggers off further events. The outcome of each of the moves differs, as shown by the variation in the functions assigned. Move I leads to the death of H; Move II to H's escape; Move III to the *ureu yaya* getting the better of his pursuers, although not actually causing them harm.

Despite this variation, the moves can be seen as repetitions of each other, each exploring the relationship between human protagonist and *ureu yaya*. The hill mist (*p'uyu*) plays a prominent role, as a sort of catalyst determining the encounter between the two actors; in Move I, mist accompanies the encounter and the separation that

follows later; in Move II, the mist is insufficient for the encounter to have any lasting effect, and H escapes; in Move III, mist is responsible for the outwitting of the pursuers. For Tale 1, unlike many legendary narratives, there appeared to be no mediator rôle as such. The relationship between actors was a simple one with no intervention on the part of a third party. In Tale 2, while the appearance of mist can be regarded as a metaphorical manifestation of the *urou yaya*'s displeasure, it serves a structural purpose in the narrative also. It acts, as I have said, as the catalyst which determines the outcome of the encounter and in short, could be said in structural terms to occupy the 'slot' which we shall come to recognize as that of mediator in the ensuing analyses. A schematization of the relationships to which I refer might clarify the point: in the triads set out below, the three-dimensional relationship described in the tale is represented, with human protagonist in the top left-hand corner, the non-human agent (here *urou yaya*) in the top right, and the mediator (here the mist) in the bottom. The signs in brackets indicate the positive or negative values of the attitudes held by one actor towards another, and a comparison between the triads reveals at a glance the variations and repetitions in structural pattern at this level from one move to another:





This same method will be used to compare the structure of relationships in the devil legends also.

2.3 Tale 3

| <u>Tale 3: Taita Bueranmanta</u> | | | |
|----------------------------------|---------|--|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | shepherd boy (H) pasturing flocks on hill | 1 |
| | i | mist comes down and animals get lost; H goes in search of them | 2 |
| | ii | H meets TB | 3 |
| | iii | TB invites H to go with him | 4 |
| | iv | arrive inside hill where there is gold | 7 |
| | v | H comes out of hill with gold in <i>poncho</i> | 8 |
| | vi | the gold turns to horse dung | 9 |

The pattern followed by this tale adds little new to that of Tales 1 and 2, except in the ambiguity of its outcome; the hero appears at first to have profited from his encounter, but the *urcu yaya* is shown to have the 'last laugh'. The form taken by his revenge (gold turns to dung) seems to be a more acculturated version, the result perhaps of creeping cynicism with regard to local beliefs in the riches contained in the hills. The episode gives the tale a smack of the humorous tales, such as Tale 62, which are considered to be borrowings from *mestizo* culture, providing a comic counterpart to serious local legends. The pattern of relations established between *urcu yaya* and H is as it was for Move I, Tale 2.

3.0 Content

Substantial comparative data is available which enables us to place these legends in the context of a complex set of popular beliefs regarding the *urcu yaya*.

3.1 Attributes of the urcu yaya in legend and belief

Many prominent hills in the area are personified and thought in popular belief to be the abode of the *urcu yaya*. Ispendola, Zhinzhūn and Altar Urco are further examples. Rivet refers to the phenomenon in his findings at the turn of this century:

"(Les indiens de Cañar) croient aussi à l'existence d'un nain, maître des montagnes, 'urcuyaya', qui, la nuit, attaque et tue ceux qui osent s'aventurer dans ses domaines,"
(Rivet 1906:91-92)

3.1.1 The ill-nature of the urcu yaya

The ill-nature of the 'hill father', referred to specifically in Tale 2, is emphasized in Rivet's account, as he goes on:

"Certaines cordillères, où le mauvais temps est fréquent, ont une personnalité véritable, hostile et irritable. La montagne se fâche, si une personne la gravit. "El páramo está bravo" - "Le paramo est méchant, est en colère" - est une expression courante parmi les indiens."
(loc.cit) (2)

The idea that the mountain shows its displeasure through creating adverse weather conditions is interestingly adapted in the medium of folk legend: here it is used as a narrative device which serves both as an expression of the hill father's displeasure with the humans with whom he has come into contact, and as a cover for him at the moment when he wishes to make such contact. Thus it is, for example, that Taita Charun is able to carry his godchild away unobserved in Tale 1, and the mist and rain which accompany his presence could also be seen as a manifestation of his anger at his *comadre*'s failure to give over the child on a previous occasion. It is a characteristic of legend to add a literary or metaphorical dimension to actual practices or beliefs when expressing them in narrative form; a further illustration of such a mechanism is seen in the development of the *padrino-ahijado* relationship between *urcu yaya* and *auca huahua* (again in Tale 1), derived from the former practice of infant sacrifice to hills and caves, recorded for Azuay and Cañar, which will be further discussed below.

3.1.2 Male/Female personification of the hills

Elsewhere in the *sierra* Rivet observed that a distinction was made between those mountains thought of as female, and those thought of as male;

"des montagnes, comme le Chimborazo et le Tungurahua sont encore invoquées comme des divinités sexuées; le Chimborazo est le dieu mâle (taita); le Tungurahua la dieu femelle (mama)."
(loc.cit.)

Such an idea also pertains to present-day Cañar; people in the communities of Quilloac and La Capilla, whose lands are dominated by Buerán to the south and Zhinzhún to the north-west, think of the former as inhabited by a male entity, while the latter's inhabitant is female. The two are supposed to be lovers, as LA relates:

"Bueranca c'ari; Mama Zhinzhunaca Rosa Zhinzhuna shuti, Chaipaca amigashi mozashi nishpa uyasheani parlash."

"Bueran is a man; Mama Zhinzhuna is called Rosa Zhinzhuna and she is his girlfriend as they say; I have heard this said."

Contemporary data for elsewhere in the highlands reveals that Tungurahua and Cotopaxi were lovers of Chimborazo (IID 1975b:3,7); and the same relationship is thought to hold between Imbabura (male) and Cotopachi (female) (Parsons 1945:127-128).

3.1.3 The endowments of the urcu yaya/mama

At the beginning of Tale 2 we come across a rather obscure reference to Bueran's sparsely vegetated appearance;

"Taita Bueranca sueñashca nin, chairicumi mana sacahta charin nin, solo ugshallata charin nin."

"They say that Taita Bueran was asleep and that is why he has no trees, but only grass."

The usefulness of comparative analysis is further demonstrated when it shows that popular belief widely explains whether or not a hill be well-endowed with vegetation and water supply by whether or not that

hill was quick off the mark when these benefits were being distributed at the 'beginning of things'. Imbabura, it is said, overslept on that occasion and got nothing (Parsons op.cit.129), and certain hills in the province of Tungurahua are lacking in lakes and streams due to having overslept when 'Taita Dios' was distributing them (IID op.cit.). So too, therefore, are Taita Buerán's bare slopes explained, and contrasted elsewhere with those of Zhinzhún which are more richly vegetated (LA),

3.1.4 The treasures of the hills

In popular belief, however, the true endowments of the hills are not to be found on their exterior slopes, which are exposed for any eye to see, but rather in their interior chambers, the home of the hill father/mother, and only visible to the inadvertent wanderer who is enticed within, usually to his fate. These chambers are believed to be stored with all kinds of fruits, vegetables and grains, some of which are mentioned in the texts above. Zhinzhún, Ispendola and Altar Urcu stand in contrast to Buerán and Charún in containing large quantities of produce from the hot lowlands (*yunga*): yuca, (*Manihot aipi*), oranges, sugar cane, bananas, and so on, while their real life altitude of some 4000 m. above sea-level allows only for the cultivation of tubers such as those described in the interior of Buerán (Tales 2 & 3). An additional feature associated with these three mountains is the belief that their store is guarded by a black dog, or two, chained at the entrance. The produce, whether it be of lowland or highland provenience, is thought to be of solid gold. (3)

In the majority of accounts all attempts to acquire wealth through contact with the *urcu yaya/mama* fail, although in the information supplied by LA there is a notable exception: he told of a *chazo* who was once travelling on horseback along the slopes of Zhinzhún; he dismounted to urinate and in an instant found himself

transported to the interior of the hill where he witnessed the stores of golden produce as described above. He was allowed to pluck a sprig of rosemary from a tree that grew there. Then, finding himself again outside, he resumed his journey. Clutching the rosemary (*romero*), he survived a storm, and on arriving safely home found that the rosemary had turned to coins of gold and silver. (4)

The richness of the hills' interiors and their inhabitants is an idea found elsewhere in Ecuador: Parsons records a local belief that Taita Imbabura;

"rides a white horse and lives in truly Inca splendour in a golden house stored with crops of all kinds."
(op.cit,93)

Elsewhere too the hill is known to give gold, and specifically a golden corn cob, to those who encounter him, but always and only in return for a favour performed reciprocally and correctly by the person concerned. GS/SA/1 is the tale of a hat-seller who helps carry a load for Taita Chimborazo and receives golden corn-cobs in payment. HD/SA/19 tells of a beggar who receives similar payment from the *urcu yaya*'s women in return for sexual favours. In several of the comparative accounts it is clear that good fortune of this kind only comes the way of the poor and lowly; frequently when the rich and greedy attempt to imitate the actions of the former, they fail. The texts from Salasaca cited above are examples of this. In the Cañar texts, however, such a moral message is hardly apparent, the main effect of the tales being to convey the delicately balanced relationship that exists between man and his environment. If there is criticism of the heroine's acquisition of riches in Tale 1, for example, it would seem to be an incidental tag to a narrative whose key interest is in the reciprocal ties that obtain between heroine and her *compadre*.

3.1.5 Other attributes

Some informants furnished further details of the physical

attributes of the *urcu yaya*, as they are thought of: he is believed to be very short in stature, perhaps some 50 centimetres tall, and he wears a *poncho* of two colours (*zhiru*), as mentioned also in Tale 2. This would seem to be referring to a kind of *poncho* worn only by the oldest inhabitants of the area today, woven of red and black in a check design. Rivet's remark quoted earlier also contains the idea of his shortness of stature, and I believe this to be one of the factors which has led to an apparent confusion in the minds of some people between the roles in popular belief of the *urcu yaya* and Taita Carnaval. The latter is also believed to be of diminutive size, inhabits the hills, carries a *pingullo* and a *caja* of gold and visits men's houses at Carnival time. (5)

3.2 The *urcu yaya* and the *auca huahua*

Some mention has already been made of a connection I believe to exist between former practices of infant sacrifice, recorded both for Cañar and Azuay, and the metaphorical sacrifice of the *auca huahua* to the hill as depicted in Tale 1. I now come to elaborate upon this theme. González Suárez makes a fleeting reference to the practice of infant sacrifice which, however brief, is valid evidence when placed in the context of comments by modern-day informants. He remarks:

"Los sacrificios de los Cañaris se hacían degollando niños tiernos sobre una ara de piedra, con cuchillos también de pedernal."
(loc.cit.) (6)

There is insufficient ethnohistorical evidence to show how long such ritual methods of sacrifice persisted. However, we do know that the abandonment of newly-born, unbaptized children in the vicinity of certain rocks and caves took place until recently, and may take place still. Whether such activity continued to have ritual significance is open to conjecture. EDC, for example mentioned how he and his wife are unable to build a house on a piece of land they own, for the plot

stands on the edge of a ravine inhabited by *aucas* who are, he explained, the souls of children who have been abandoned by unwilling mothers (mainly unmarried) and captured as a result by the devil. The latter is believed to rear such children for his own and they then haunt the area where they were abandoned causing offence and annoyance to the living. This account seems to be an updated rationalization of old customs and beliefs, both in the replacement of the *urcu yaya* with the Catholic *diablo*, and in the real-life implications behind the statement that it is unwilling and often unmarried mothers who indulge in the practice. (7) This is perhaps an example of the secularization and rationalization of popular belief: child sacrifice as such is obsolete, but the associations with certain hills, rocks and ravines remain, and these same localities provide the most convenient spots for the abandonment of unwanted infants. Religious ritual cedes partially to real-life practicalities, and the two become curiously interdependent. (8)

In EDC's account mentioned above, the devils are described as 'rearing' (*huiñachina*) the children they capture, and this same term was used by informants describing the belief in the *urcu yaya*'s adoption of newborn children, given up by the parents in return for money as JSA, for example, describes:

"*Ricungui: tiempopi parlashoami cai Ispendolaman regalangapa auca huahua, gamu cui, gamu papa llushtishoa yanushoa. Chaipi cullqui llugshicuna cashea. Cai Bueranpi lo mismo. Urcu yayata compadre ruhuash urcu mamata comadre ruhuash cullquita cuchun. Chairiou nin auca huahuata curcacuna. Urcucuna huiñachiroa aucata cunan punzhacama causan urcupi.*"

"Look: in former times it is said unbaptized children, unsalted guinea-pig, and unsalted potatoes, peeled and boiled, were gifts to Ispendola hill. Then people would take money out. With Bueran hill it was the same. They made the *urcu yaya* their *compadre* and the *urcu mama* their *comadre* so they would give money. That is why they gave the unbaptized children. The hills reared the unbaptized children and they live there within the hill to this day."

The idea mentioned here that the 'hill father' eats only unsalted (*gamu*).

food was corroborated by other informants (GZP, EDC, JSA), and is a further point of similarity, incidentally, between Taita Carnaval and the *urcu yaya*. JSA explained that the 'hill fathers' do not eat salt as they are not 'blessed' (*bendiciado*). There seems to be a consistency here with their predilection for unbaptized children.

As further evidence for the former existence of the practice of infant sacrifice, beliefs to be found in the provinces of both Cañar and Azuay concerning the Mama Huaca, must be considered. It is Rivet who gives us our earliest mention of her:

"Sur le territoire de la paroisse de Paccha (province de l'Azuay) existe la caverne de Curitaqui habitée par un génie appelé 'Mamahuaca', dont l'attribut est un épi de maïs en or tenu à la main, et qui en échange de l'offrande du premier né d'une famille donne à celle-ci la richesse et l'abondance. Jusqu'à présent, cette tradition barbare persiste, et de temps à autre, un enfant est trouvé abandonné au seuil de l'autre du dieu."
(op.cit.92)

There is sufficient evidence to show that the Mama Huaca of contemporary lore and the *urcu yaya* are distinct from each other and associated with different sets of beliefs. (9) However, as in the case of Taita Carnaval, there are enough features in common for a certain assimilation to have occurred between them. By such features I refer to the motivation of self-betterment behind the abandonment of children to both, and the golden corn-cob motif with which both are connected. That such associations can give rise to the confusion and even fusion of beliefs is confirmed by Muñoz-Bernand's findings in Pindilig:

"Pindilig tiene también su Mamahuaca. Según algunos testimonios, este personaje se confunde con la dueña del cerro, la urcumama, que protege celosamente las alturas de la profacación de los hombres."
(n.d.5)

She goes on to point out the connections that the "*urcumama-mamahuaca devoradora de niños*" has with a Pindilig tale concerning two children, abandoned in the forest to the mercy of a cannibalistic old woman referred to as *urcumama*. (op.cit,6), Comparing this with my own Cañar

material, the set of 'transformations' expands still further; the Pindilig tale is closely connected with the Mama Ahuardona stories represented in sub-section (h). When I discuss that sub-section, the comparable characteristics and rôles of the Mama Huaca will be set out in more detail.

The vulnerability of the unbaptized child, given literary expression in Tale 1, is founded on actual belief and preoccupation, as might be expected. ECZ related how a child is protected from *malaire* before baptism with a scapulary or rosary placed around its neck: "*para que no coja el mal viento o lleve el enemigo malo en huracán.*" Furthermore, a prohibition exists against the child's father holding it in his arms (*marcana*), or having relations with his wife until after the baptism. I heard these ideas expressed in Sigsihuaicu also. Parsons records lore for Imbabura regarding infants who die before baptism: they are thought to become *auacas* and wander at night, a danger to any living unbaptized infant on whom their gaze may rest. The fear of the *cerro* specifically finds its corollary in a remark made by Muñoz-Bernand, in relation to Pindilig, as follows:

"Cuando una madre lleva una huahua tierna al cerro y le acuesta sobre el suelo, ésta puede enfermar.... se hincha, se deforma y muere, si no se le cura inmediatamente."
(op.cit,4)

Although here the preoccupation is focussed specifically on the possible presence of *huacas* (pre-conquest burial sites) whose 'bad air' could cause illness. It should also be noted that the dire results of contact with the *urcu yaya* is not necessarily confined to the babe in arms; as Tale 2 illustrates, the threat is real for grown people also.

3.3 The rôle of the *urcu yaya* in curing practices

The idea that such contact can cause illness and even death

has its antithesis in the popular belief that the *urcu yaya* may be invoked to assist in curing ceremonies by the *curandero*. Although this aspect may not be shown in the texts above, I obtained sufficient supplementary data in the form of comments and anecdotes to make it worthy of mention. Just as the 'hill father' may cause sickness, so he may be the source of its cure. The relationship established between he and the *curandero* is a reciprocal one, just as reciprocity lies at the bottom of all interaction between the 'hill father' and men. The 'hill father' must be offered reward for his help in the form of *trago*, live guinea-pigs, etc. The patient's family will provide the *curandero* with these, and he then mediates on their behalf with the *urcu yaya* (GZP). (10) EDC provided an account which verges on the realm of tale rather than description of practice, as here there is a direct interaction between the *urcu yaya* and the invalid: there was a very sick man whose body was covered in incurable sores. One day he met the *urcu yaya* who offered to cure him for payment. He came to his house and effected the cure simply by cleansing his body with his hand, using no other remedy. He was cured and in return the 'hill father' was offered money and a roast chicken but he wanted only a live guinea pig (for he doesn't eat salty food), and a length of undyed homespun cloth (*bayeta blanca*) on the loom and some dry beans in a pot. He used no *pomadas* or injections, but cured only with his hands. (11) The rôle of the *urcu yaya* as curer, can be seen therefore, as the counterpart to his rôle as a bringer of disease. In sub-section (b) we shall find examples of the devil in the same ambivalent position: at once the agent of illness and the provider of the remedy. Parsons's tale 'Imbabura visits Cotacachi', provides a comparative piece of evidence: the latter administers a remedy to the former when he sickens after eating, and in a footnote the author comments:

"Inferably, if Imbabura cures he also causes disease, In Jfbaro belief, hills and mountains, the dwelling-places of deceased sorcerers, send disease; disease from the mountains is a widespread Andean belief." (op.cit.128)

A contemporary text from the same area, where Taita Imbabura intercedes to cure a young boy, demonstrates the persistence of this idea (LS/IM/8).

4.0 Concluding remarks

As we progress through the analysis of tales in this section, it will be seen that tale can be considered to provide a form of literary expression for certain aspects of reality; the above discussion should have suggested this for the tales looked at so far. There is one aspect which has only been referred to in passing, and which merits further emphasis in concluding this sub-section. The system of relationships struck up between 'hill father' and humans in the legends above is a metaphor for the actual spiritual relationship, active or passive as it may be today, that exists between man and his physical environment. That relationship depends above all on reciprocity; the terminology used to express this in the tales belongs to immediately recognizable social categories (*compadre/comadre, padrino/ahijado*), with all that they imply both in terms of reciprocity and its counterpart, vengeance.(12) The ritual expression of this relationship - in the past taking the form of infant sacrifice - in tale survives in symbolic form only, or in references to sickness and death caused by the *cerro*, (13). Oral narrative is rarely a direct reflection of reality, (14) but it can certainly be a symbolic expression of it where certain structures belonging to reality are transposed onto a metaphorical plane. It is my contention that these structures are what at once ties a tale type more closely to the people to whom it belongs, and also allows for the introduction of certain foreign tales (A-T 327A; Hansel and Gretel is the example in mind here), where these contain structural elements compatible with and therefore readily adaptable to the already

existing system.

FOOTNOTES

(1) It has been pointed out how folklore tends to cluster around periods of anxiety in the individual life cycle (Dundes 1974:86); in the present text this is certainly the case - the anxiety is that surrounding baptism. Elsewhere it may be that surrounding marriage. In other cases, it may be an anxiety in terms of infringement of social norms, often connected with the local belief system. This is no doubt the case in the other *urcu yaya* tales, where the only apparent indiscretion committed by the Hero figure is to wander too near to the 'hill father's' abode, in the wrong weather conditions.

(2) González Suárez makes reference to a particular hill in the territory of the Cañaris believed to be inhabited by a spirit of evil known as *Supay-urco* to whom infant sacrifice was made (1890:150), and Velasco records the same information (1946,I:45).

(3) cf. Fock's account of the Taita Carnaval myth which describes the interior of the hills thus: "*Hacia calor en el cerro y había frutas de todas clases, pero las frutas eran de oro.*" (1977b:5) The notion of gold within the hills is linked no doubt to Quechua creation myths which describe how at the end of the creation prior to this, the Incas buried themselves with all their gold: "*Según las leyendas, los Incas literalmente desaparecieron bajo tierra con todos sus bienes y oro en la conquista española.*" (Fock op.cit.17). Referred to further in sub-section (b).

(4) Rosemary (*Rosmarinus officinalis* L.) features regularly in ritual, popular lore, and tales: springs of rosemary are placed on plates of burning charcoal to give off a pungent aroma in religious processions; it is often cited as an ingredient in the remedy for *mal viento* (eg. EDC); see Tale 11, where the hero protects a dead man from devils by aspersion of rosemary; Cordero emphasises its use as an altar adornment: "*se lo aprecia mucho, no sólo por sus propiedades tónica, emenagoga y, sobre todo, vulneraria, sino también porque su menudo y perfumado follaje, mirado siempre como propio de los altares desde las primitivas tradiciones y populares creencias del culto cristiano, luce siempre en nuestros templos.*" (1950). Although unspoken, there is surely a connection between the urination and the subsequent salvation of the traveller in LA's account from the *urcu mama*. Urine aspersion also counteracts the rainbow and the devils.

(5) see Appendix I for more details of Carnival beliefs.

(6) Velasco records this also, (1946,I:51).

(7) Further points of comparison between the behaviour of the *diablo* and the *urcu yaya* will be discussed later.

(8) Guevara records a belief for Tungurahua and Bolívar that the devil captures unbaptized children born illegitimately and keeps them for his own ends; they are set to trap unsuspecting travellers and have vampire-like attributes (1972:395); Parsons notes for Cantón Cayambe, Pichincha: "*Huacaisiques* or *guagua cuco* are babies that have been abandoned on the road or in a pasture, unbaptized, and the spirit becomes a malevolent

cucu," (op.cit.204); Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales also recorded the belief in the *Huacay Siqui* for Carchi and Pichincha, and have data on the vampirish *Uñaguilla* for Cotopaxi (1966:233-234), cf. Guevara (loc.cit.).

(9) Ventimilla (1968:174-179), Landívar (1971:112-119), Muñoz-Bernand (n.d.5-6).

(10) My informants (EDC, GGG, JSA, MJA, GZP) all denied the persistence of the practice today, however. Mena found it to be an important part of the *Yachag Taita's* methods in Imbabura (1969), and for a description of a comparable relationship between *p'akko* and *aukis* etc., for Peru, see Lira (1950).

(11) Curing practices in reality also include the blowing of smoke and *trago* over the patient's body, sucking at the body, and rubbing the affected parts with an egg or a live guinea-pig which is later killed and discarded in an unfrequented spot (cf. Parsons (op.cit.64-65) who records similar practices for the cure of *mal aire* in Peguche; diagnosis by '*limpiada con cuy*' is also a common practice (Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales 1966:472).

(12) For a discussion of the *compadrazgo* see, among others, Mintz and Wolf (1950).

(13) Ortiz Rescanière in his analysis of the myth of Wa-Qon from the province of Canta, Peru, makes a similar observation regarding the devouring of children in oral narrative: "*Este parece ser el sentido de los sacrificios humanos que, aunque se dan a nivel oral, simbólico, recuerdan los antiguos sacrificios de niños.*" (1973:47).

(14) Indeed it may be a complete inversion or contradiction of it, see Lévi-Strauss (1967).

Section A sub-section (b): Tales of the devil

Texts

Group (i)

Tale 4: La lucha entre la cruz y el diablo

Así han contado atrás en Biblián, me han contado así; que ellos han muerto así en el volque de carro. Que ha estado casi quince días sin recuerdo, sin nada. Entonces diz que ha ido no sé por dónde también dis que ha ido. Vuelta que ha encontrado con cruz. Después ha encontrado huishtus dice, los diablos. Ese zambito que me contó atrás.

Entonces él ha sabido adorar al cruz. Entonces adorando al cruz el crucito diz que ha salvado. Diz que ha estado caminando. Diz que camina y camina y camina y camina. Al fin ya pasaron una quebrada y ha presentado dice el cruz. Es que ha preguntado, diz que ha dicho: - ¿A dónde estás yendo vos? - diz que ha dicho.

Así es que ha dicho: - Vos no tienes que irte a donde porque vos sois mi peón - diz que ha dicho -, entonces ahora solamente es que debes hacer es de irse conmigo, nada más. Entonces, vamos conmigo porque allá estan esperando bastantes - diz que ha dicho cruz.

Atrás en Biblián siempre saben adorar al cruz de mayo.

Entonces iba, iba, iba, dice. Adelante, adelante el crucito, entonces él hecho seguir. Al final ya yendo pasar a una quebrada es que ha encontrado dice ya con los diablos. El crucito diz que ha dicho: - Vos adelante. Yo quedaré parada aquí - diz que ha dicho -, vos adelante. Entonces al fin ya se ha ido pi bastante lejos. El cruz la quedada parado ya.

Ha encontrado no más dicen con un diablo. Entonces el diablo diz que ha dicho: - ¿A donde estás yendo? - diz que ha dicho -, ahora sí que tienes que irte conmigo. Que vamos no más, porque vos tienes que irte conmigo.

Al final entonces han peleado dice, lo que más puede. Entonces d'ahí cruzca ha presentado al lado dice. Presentando al lado entonces que ha dicho: - Bueno, ahora sí. Vos no has de llevar. Yo sí tengo que llevar porque es mi peón. Entonces ahora sí tienes que irte tranquilamente. El otro es que ya viendo cruz que ha echado boca abajo. Diz que ha dicho: - Entonces vos te vas llevando pero allá ya nos encontramos bastantes. Al final ha caminado, caminado, caminado, ése, bastante mismo.

Entonces caminando bastante diz que ha dicho: - Oí, ahora sí aquí estamos bastantes. Ahora sí vos no bueno vas a quedarte. Entonces el cruz diz que ha dicho: - Vos va a vencer o nosotros vamos a vencer. Ya vos sique caminando más allá.

Entonces ha encontrado bastantes mismo, bastantes diablos ya. Encontrando al runa diz que ha querido llevar dice. Sí, casi como runa mismo, zambito. Ha querido llevar. Entonces él: - Párate - diz -, al lado. El cruz a uno también ha hecho revolcar dice, a otro también ha hecho revolcar, a uno también ha hecho revolcar, a otro también ha hecho revolcar. Al final toditos diz que han quedado boca abajo. Pero ellos están parados, ¿no? Entonces ha hecho adelantar diz que vaya.

Llegando a donde era que ha estado, dice, un cruz grande, grande mismo es que ha estado ahí. Diz que ha estado taita Diosito. Ahí diz que ha dicho: - ¿Para qué vienes? - diz que ha dicho. El cruz pequeñito que fue igual con él diz que ha dicho: - Sólo para hacer experiencia no más viene.

Entonces diz que ha dicho: - Anda, anda, mostrarás.

Entonces es que ha dicho: - Acá abajo no más, abriendo esta puerta no más, anda mostrarás - diz que ha dicho.

Cierto, cierto, entonces que ha de entrar adentro diz que ha sido infierno dice. Un horror, de paila dice, temeridad dice que ha estado. Y él está parado diz que con el crucito al lado mismo. Se pasan por lado, no dice que venga, nada. Pasan por lado dice.

Al final un familiar saliendo diz que ha dicho (que el alma ha estado en infierno) que he de avisar, mandado una noticia. Que dé avisando en esta forma, en esta forma: - Porque yo adentré linderación de terreno. Por esto aquí estoy hecho mula - diz que ha dicho. - Estoy pastando a los mulas, pateado, mordido estoy aquí. Da avisando a mi marido, a mis hijos que devuelve ese linderación de terreno - diz que ha mandado avisando.

Otro diz que ha dicho que entonces va a mandar pidiendo un favor grande: - La plata lo que tengo está enterrado en asiento de olla. Allí está en pequeño cajoncito. Eso que avisa a mi marido. Por eso estoy aquí casi sufriendo, pastando a los puercos, y mordido puercos, todo hociado porque estoy aquí - diz que ha dicho -, que dé avisando a mi marido.

Al final entonces que diz que ha regresado ya igual con crucito mismo ya. Ya regresando entonces cuando él ha pensado que ha de ser un día y una noche no más, cuanto imás quince días que ha estado ya. En quince días ha cogido acuerdo entonces. Ya después al mes que ha salido boca y ha conversado eso. Ahí estuvo conversando así. Así era.

(Q)

St, pues a los diablos mismos ha estado pastando. Como el de robar tierra no ha sabido ser bueno, ni robar plata peor. Entonces por eso de robar plata ha sabido estar pastando a los puercos en llano grande. Eran diablos hecho en forma de puercos y de mulas no más.

The fight between the cross and the devil

This is what they told me over the hill in Biblián, they told me the following: that some folk had died in a car crash. That one man had been unconscious for two weeks. They say he went I don't know where during that time. Then he met a cross. Then he met some devils. That peasant fellow over the hill told me about it.

It turned out that he used to worship the cross, and because he was devoted to it, the cross saved him. They say he was walking along: walking and walking and walking. Finally he was going through a narrow gorge when a cross appeared before him and asked him: "Where are you going? You've no business to be going anywhere because you are my workman. You can only go if you go with me, that's all. So let's go together because there are alot (of devils) waiting farther on."

Over there in Biblián they always venerate the May cross.

So they walked and walked. The little cross walked ahead and made the man follow behind. Finally as they were going through another gully they met the devils. The little cross said: "You go ahead. I'll stay standing here. You go ahead."

So the man walked ahead quite a distance, and the cross remained behind

standing upright.

They say the man met a devil just then and the devil asked him: "Where are you going? Now you must go with me. Let's go then, for you have to go with me."

Then they say they had a fight, quite a tough one. And then the cross appeared at the man's side. On appearing, he said: "Now then, now then: you aren't taking this man with you. He has to go with me, for he's my worker. Now you'd better just go along quietly."

When the devil saw the cross they say he threw himself to the ground face down. He called out: "You take him then, but further on you will meet a whole group of us."

And so they walked on and on, quite a way.

After walking for some while, the devil turned to them: "Now look, here there are a lot of us. Now we're going to get the better of you."

"Either you will win or we shall win," said the cross, "now you go on ahead," he told the man.

And there were many devils there. They had wanted to take the Indian with them, it's said. (Q) Yes, a peasant from Biblián is the same thing as an Indian more or less. So the cross warned the man to step aside. Then it knocked down first one of the devils, then another, then yet another, and another. Finally they all lay there face downwards. And the cross and his companion still on their feet, right? For the cross had told the man to move ahead out of the way.

When the cross caught up with the man, they say a tall cross was standing there. They say that God was there and asked the peasant: "What have you come for?"

The little cross who was accompanying him answered: "He's just come to see what it's like, nothing more."

So God consented: "Go ahead, show him. Just down there, through that door. Show him."

And sure enough, they were told they had to go inside and there was Hell. It was horrific, with cauldrons they say, very frightening. And the man stood there with the little cross right by his side. They went right past, no-one beckoned to them, nothing. They went right on past.

Then finally one of the man's relatives whose soul was in Hell came out to send a message back to her family: "Because I cheated over the boundary-line to my land, I'm here turned into a mule. I herd the mules and get kicked and bitten for my punishment. Tell my husband and my children to give back the boundary margin."

Then they say another asked him to do her a big favour: "The money (I stole) is buried beneath the cooking pot. There it is in a little box. Tell my husband that. That's why I'm suffering here, grazing the pigs, bitten and nuzzled by the pigs. Tell my husband."

So finally, they say he came back with the little cross. On his way back he thought that he must have been away a day and a night, when to his surprise he found it had been a fortnight! So he came round after fifteen days.. Then after a month he began to speak and tell his story. There he was, telling it like that. That's how it was.

(Q)

Yes, well they were herding the devils themselves. For it was a sin to steal land, and to steal money even worse. So because she had stolen money she had to graze pigs on the big plain. They were just devils in the form of pigs and mules.

Informant: EDC, 20th October, 1976

| | |
|-------------|---|
| V1 | Objects of worship |
| Z110 | Personifications |
| G303.15. | Places haunted by the devil |
| G303.9.5 | The devil as abductor |
| G303.16.3 | Devil's power avoided by the cross |
| F81 | Descent to lower world of dead |
| F91 | Door (gate) entrance to lower world |
| A671.2 | Horrible sights in hell |
| E755.2.7 | Devils torment sinners in hell |
| Q560 | Punishments in hell |
| G303.3.3 | Devil in animal form |
| G303.3.31.5 | Devil in form of swine |
| Q212 | Theft punished |
| E345.1 | Dead returns to replace boundary marks he has removed |
| E352 | Dead returns to restore stolen goods |

Tale 5: *Ishcai mozocunaca*

Shug ishcai apanacushpa causacunata parlagrini: tiyarcami ishcai mozocuna. Juin cuyanacushpa causarcacuna. Shug punzha rircacunami yacupi armaringapa, jatun yacupi. Yacupi yaicureacuna ishcaita. Ishcaita yaicushpaca shugca armarishpa llugshirca shugca yacupi rirca. Chaimanta chai yacumanta llugshig huauquica juin llaquishpa mana causaita charircachu. Huacashpa purirca macunapi paita yuyarishpa. Chashnacushpa chai saquirig huauquica violinpi tocanata yachacurca. Violinpi tocashpa ganashpa pai chai micunata charirca. Shug punzha tuparca nin shug amo. Nirca: - Ñuca haciendapi jacu tocanqui - nirca. Chashna nigpica nirca: - ¿Mashnatata paganguiari? - nirca. Chaipica amo nircami: - Can nishcatami pagasha. Chaimanta chaíta uyashpa cushilla rirca chai amohuan,

Chai amoca huasipi chayachishpa, hacienda pungullapi. Hacienda pungullapi saquishpa rirca: - Rinimi ñuca familiacunata c'aymungapa - nishpa -, fiestata ruhuangapa. Chaipica paica pungullapi saquirishpa tiyacurca. Chaipi tiyacugpica uyarircami ucupica: - Ay! Ay! - nishpa, Cahimanta paica: - Ucupi ¿maiñan ungushca shinami siricun imata? - nishpa ucuta ricungapa rirca.

Chai ucupica cashcarcami chai yacupi huafiusheca paipa amigo. Paita ricushpa nirca: - Ah, amigo, ¿imapata caimanca shamunguiari? Ñucaca riqui cashnami caipi causacuni. Urai singa paila jahuapi huarcushca cashcarca, - Ah, amigo! ¿Imapata caiman shamunguiari? - nishpaca nircami -, cunanca paica ña familiata pushashpa shamungami. Canca ña tocashpaca pagota cusha nigpica ningui ama curita, ama cullquita, ni ama granota, solo uchupata pagachun ningui. Paica pagasha ningami cullquita, granota, curita, imatapish. Canca ama apag japinguechu. Uchupallata pagai ningui. Violinpi tocashpapish santo rosario nishcata tocanqui. Callarigpi ni tucuchinapi violinpi japishpapish cruzta ruhuashpa japingui. Tucui chaíta uyarcami.

Chaimanta amo shamugpica, tucui familiacunahuan chayamugpica, fiestata ruhuarcacunami chaíta tocachishpa. Chashna nishcatami ruhuarca. Chaimantaca ña fiesta tucurigpica ña: - Ñucaman pagai - nircami. Amoca nircami: - ¿Mashnatata pagashari? Can munashcata apailla - nirca curita cullquita granota ricuchishpa. Chaipica nircami: - Ñucaca ninimi uchupata, Chaimantaca mana pagasha nig shinalla mana cushilla pagarcachu uchupataca. Uchupata cugpica mochilapi, sumerrucunapi, agachapi, imapimi pai pudishcapi apashpa shamurca. Chashnami quishpirimushecarca. Chai amoca mana amochu cashcarca. Diablomi cashcarca. Haciendapish mana haciendachu cashcarca, Infernomi cashcarca.

The two friends

I'm going to talk about two friends who got along very well together; there were two boys who were very close friends. One day they went down to the river to wash. Together they went into the water. When one of them had washed, he got out of the water, but the other was carried away. The friend who had come out of the water was inconsolable and went about weeping at the memory of his friend.

So it was that the friend who remained learnt to play the fiddle. By playing he could earn his bread. One day, he met a white man who said: "Come and play at my *hacienda*," "And how much will you pay me?" "Whatever you ask," was the reply. Hearing that, the young man happily went with the white man.

The man led the boy to the gate of his *hacienda*. He left him there saying: "I'm going to call my family, to throw a party." So the boy stayed behind at the door. As he stood there he heard a sound within; "Ay! Ay!" "Is somebody lying ill in there, or what?" he wondered, and in he went to see.

Inside was his friend who had drowned in the river. When he saw the boy, he said: "Oh, my friend! What have you come here for? Look at how I am living here," He was hanging upside down above a cauldron: "Oh, my friend! What have you come for? Now he will come bringing his family. Now, when he wants to pay you for your playing, say no to gold, no to silver, no to grain, make him pay you only in ash. He will want to pay you silver, grain, gold, anything. But don't take it. Tell him to only pay you ashes. And even when you play the fiddle, touch your holy rosary as we call it. And before you even finish, holding your fiddle, make the sign of the cross." The boy listened to all this.

Then when the boss came back with all his relatives they had a party, making him play. He did as he had been told; when the party was over he said: "Pay me," And the white man said: "How much shall I pay then? Take what you want," he said, showing him gold, silver and grain. The lad said: "I want ash." He didn't want to pay, but reluctantly he paid with ash.

When he gave him the ash, the boy put it in his bundle, in his hat, in his hair, wherever he could, and carried it away. That was how he escaped from there. For that white man wasn't a *hacienda* owner after all, but the devil. And the *hacienda* was no *hacienda*, but Hell.

Informant: GGG, April 1976 (courtesy Live Drange)

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|------------|--|
| G303.9,5,8 | Devil takes violinist when he needs a good fiddler in hell |
| E755.2,1 | Souls of drowned in heated kettles in hell |
| F402,7 | Family of demons |
| G303,16,3 | Devil's power avoided by cross |
| D771,7 | Disenchantment by rosary or scapular |

Tale 6: *Ishcai noviata charigmanta*

Shug runa ishcai noviata charirca, Chashna puricushpa shug noviata saquishpa shug novialla cazararca, Mana ishcaita cazarai pudirca, Chaimanta ña cazarashpa alli causarca, Shug noviaca saquirishpa shughuan cazararca. Chai shughuan cazarashpa mana alli causarca, Cusaca ñaca

alli causarca, Alli huarmihuan causagpi shug punzha tupanacurca, Chaipi tupanacushpa punta novia, punta huarmica ñaca nirca; - Ajai! Canca ñimashinata causanguari? ¿Allichu causangui o mana? Chaipi c'arica nircami, punta novioca; - Allimi causani - nirca -, huarmihuan huahuahuan tucuihuan apanacush causanimi - nin, - Ñucaca can mana casarasha nishcamanta ñucaca mana alli causanichu - nirca punta noviaca,

Chashna nishpa chai maqui p'ñachi callarirca, Punta novio cusa cana, Cusa casha nish mana cusa tucurca pero punta novia chashna nish p'ñachi callarirca, Chaimanta p'ñachicushpalla inquitai callarirca; - Jacu mai caru llagtapi causashun - nishpa -, chai caru llagtapi alli causai tiyangallami, Huarmita saquishpa jaculla - nirca, Chaimanta punta novioca; - Ña casado cani - nishpa, Llaquirishpa huarmita huahuata tucuita llaquishpa arrepentirishpa rinapi churacurcallatami, Chaimanta pero paica shungupi juin arrepentido carca; - De gana cai tucuni, Cunanca ñimachari tucusha? Sichari causai tariringa o mana - nish,

Nishpa shinapish ña ñampi yaicuroacuna, Ñampi yaicushpaca ña ahecata rish, rish, rish, ña ahecata rishpaca tuparcami shug jatun cruz, Ñampi alli ladopi shayacushcarca, Chai alli ladopi shayag cruz ricushpa chai runaca nirca; - Ea! Cai santa cruzlla, ñucaca de gana shinami cai tucuni, ¿Maipipishchhari causai taringa o mana? Ñuca huarmi, ñuca huahua saquirin - nirca, Chaimanta huarmica ladomanta nirca; - ¿Imanish nacion chai maqui santisima cruz ningui? ¿Maipipish alli causashunllami? - nin, Shina nishpa ñumpalla rirca,

Chaimanta pasash ahecata rishca qu'ipa shug amohuan tuparcami, Yana mulapi montashca shug mayordomo laya, Chai nirca; - ¿Maimanta ricunguichi? Chai huarmica nircami; - Causaita masheash ricunchi, Cusaca pena penalla llaquilla mana ima nircachu, c'arica, Chaimanta chai amoca nircami; - Jacu ñuca haciendapi causangui - nish -, chaipi tucui laya allicunata charini, tucui can ima nishcata cusha - nirca, Chaimanta cushilla rirca chai huarmi,

Ña chai ña ahecata rish hacienda ricurirca; shug paya verdeyashca, tejahuan c'atashea hacienda, Chaipi paipa ñahuipi ricurirca oveja corralcuna, pavo-cuna, atallpacuna, tucui laya avecuna, animalcuna, Chaimanta chaipish ricushpa cushilla yaicurea haciendaman, Pungullapi tiyachishpa ashata shayarcacuna, Chaimanta nircami chai mayordomoca; - Ucuman yaicui - nishpa, Huarmica ñumparashca yaicungapa rirca, C'arica tranca trancalla pena penalla llaquilla yaicurea ucupi, Chai ñampi mañarishca chai cruzca, jatun verde cruz tucushpa c'aritaca canzhaman aisash shitarca, Huarmitaca ucuman tangash shitarca, Chaica mana cashea carcachu hacienda sino ucu pacha jatun ninami cashea carca, Chai ñampi tupag amoman rigchagpish jatun mayor Satands cashearca,

The man who had two sweethearts

There was once a man who had two sweethearts. Then one day he left one of them and just married the other, for he couldn't marry them both. He lived happily married. The girlfriend who remained married another man, but did not live a happy life with him. The man, however, lived well. As he was living happily with his wife, one day he met up with the other woman. On meeting, his former sweetheart said: "Aha! And how's life treating you? Are you happy or not?"

"I'm living happily," he replied, "getting along well with my wife and child."

"Well my life is not a success, all because I wouldn't marry you," said his first girlfriend.

As she spoke, she began to beat him with her fists. He was to have been her husband but things did not turn out that way, and now the former sweetheart began to get angry. And as she grew angry, so she began to insinuate: "Let's go away and live in another town," she said, "in that distant town there'll be a good life for us. Leave your wife and let's go."

"But I'm married now," said her first lover.

But all the same he set off on the journey, weeping with regret for his wife and child. He felt very repentant at heart: "I have taken this step pointlessly. Now what on earth will become of me? Will there be a life for me there or not?"

Thus saying, they set out along the road. Once on the road, they walked and walked, a long way. Having gone far they came to a tall cross standing on the right-hand side of the road. When he saw it, the man said: "Hey! Oh holy cross! In vain I have done this thing. Now where in the world will I find a living? My wife and child are left behind." And the woman spoke from one side: "Why do you bother to speak to the holy cross? We shall find some place or other to live." And so saying she walked on ahead.

So they passed on and having walked a long way, they met with a white man. He was mounted on a black mule like a *mayordomo*. "Where are you two going?" he asked.

"We are seeking a means to live," said the woman.

The man was sorrowful and said nothing. Then the white man spoke: "Come and live on my *hacienda*. There I have all good things, and shall give you anything you ask."

So the woman went happily along.

After walking a long way, the *hacienda* appeared before them: it was an old tiled building, green with age. Before their very eyes appeared sheep-pens, turkeys, chickens, all kinds of birds and animals. Seeing all that she went happily towards the *hacienda*. They were made to stand for a moment at the gateway, the *mayordomo* said: "Come inside."

The woman was still walking in front, and made to enter. The man very sadly and reluctantly went to follow. Then that cross to which he had prayed by the roadside became a tall green cross and pulled the man outside. The woman he pushed inside. For that wasn't a *hacienda* after all but Hell. And that man who looked like a landowner whom they had met in the road turned out to be the chief Satan.

Informant: GGG, April, 1976, (courtesy Live Drange)

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|------------|------------------------------------|
| R11.2.1 | Devil carries off wicked people |
| G303.7.1.1 | Devil rides on black horse |
| G303.9.4 | The devil as tempter |
| G303.16.3 | The devil's power avoided by cross |
| D996.0.1.1 | Magic power of right hand for good |
| Z145 | Symbolic colour: green |
| F166.11 | Abundant food in other world |
| G303.3 | Forms in which the devil appears |

Tale 7: *Diablo apashca huarmica*

Cunanca cutin shugta parlasha, manchu. Cashnashi cana; shug tiempo casarashi cana shug viudota huahua apashcata; mana huahuacunahuan cashca ña pai. Pero juinshi entenadocunataca juin p'iñana. Mana ricui valina nin juin. Imalla micunitacunata misashpa taita maiman trabajoman rigpipish, huahuacunataca mana ricui valishpa: - Cai diabloacunataca mana ricunayanchu - nishpa.

¿Imata ruhuca? Chashna shug punzha semejante rabiaticuna nin cainacushca:

- Cusaca ima horas ringami? ¿Maiman trabajoman o maipica sirigringami? - nishpa ña paipa chai yuyairucua. Entonces huahuacunataca nina nin: - Shugca cashna chaiman ri, shugca chashnami ri. Mana ñucaca minanichu ñuca ñumpapi siricuchuncuna shayacuchuncuna, imatapish. Millpungaraicumi ñuca ñumpapi shayaracunguichi - nishpa p'iñashca.

Chaipishi nina cunan shug huahuataca: - Ri taitata ricumugri. O mana cashpaca diablo apashca ri. Ñuca rigrinimi de una vez diablo apashca.

Cucayuta ruhuashea, maravillas micunata: huallpa cucuyulla, cui cucayulla, shug punshaca. Chaimantaca puri callarishca. Pero nirashca: - Diablo apasheami rini cunancari. Diablo apasheami rini. Chaimantaca ña rina nin ña cucayuta quipish aparishpa. Huahuacunata c'atish cachash maita. Chishita shamun cusaca. Mana tarin. - Ñuca huarmi ¿maita rirca? - huahuacunaman tapun.

- Cashna cashna cucuyuta maravillastami ruhuaraca. Ñucanchitaca pedradasmi c'atish cacahrea canshata maipi sirigrichi nishpa. O yayata ricugrichi nishpami nirca.

Chaimantaca ña utoata puri callarishca. Shina rishealla: - Ima horasmi pimi tupan chaihuanmi rini.

Chaimantaca largo rishealla ña juin, chaqui pagtasheata, segun que pimi tupan chaihuan ringapa. Shina rinalla nin, rinalla nin, juin achcarucuta caruta juin mai sacha montañas maita. Ña yarcai japishca nin cunan huarmitaca. Yarcai japigpica micungapa tiyarishca shug semejante sacha montaña chugpipi, shug amplio pambapi. Chaipica taririshca nin ullachucuna ña jahua aireta shamushpa pai cucuyuta micucugpica. Ña mana micug ruhuashea. Pai micucugllapita ullachucuna tandanacushpa shamushpa tucui quichushca micunatapish. Chashna pero paica: - Diablo apasheami ricuni - nishpaca ashtan rabiarish risheca paipa millai shunguhuan ña. Chaimanta ña ri callarishca ña jatarishpa.

Chaipishi tupana cunan cai sumag diositoca, shug yurag bestia montashea sumaimana sucu amitoca. Chaita nsiheca nin: - Señor amito, ñucata pushai. Ñucaca pimi tupan primero, chaihuan rigricuni.

Chaipica nisheca taita diositoca: - Mana, ñucaca mana apanichu. Huashatami shamucun shug amo canta apangapa. Chaicari canta necetashpami shamucun. Ñucaca mana apari pudinichu. Shinashpami rilla. Ña pasachish cachashea.

Ña maipi cashpapish semejante p'uyu, semejante tamia. Ña punzha tutayashpa ima mundota juin truenos. Semejante jiru huacucunata pasarishca. Chaipimi tupashea cunan chai paita apag amohuanea. Chai amotaca nisheca nin: - Señor amito, ñucata apai. Ñucaca pimi tupag chaihuanmi risha nini. Nircani ñumpata shug amo ricushcani. Chaica mana uyanchu huashata shamucun shug chaimi apanga nishpami nin. ¿Canshi apaipa cangui?

- Ari, ñucaca caipimi cani apangapa canta. Ñuca necetanimi.

Shinashpaca entonces jatun punchu ruhuash churachishca. Chazurucu nin, ama señor nichun nina nin ñalla. - Pero ¿santiguana yachanguichu? - nisheca nin.

- Yachanimi - nisheca nin.

- Chaitaca cungaringui ñucahuanca. Chaitaca mana canca ashun ima ninata charinguichu. Shinashpaca caiman shamui.

Rumi euchi shayachin nin mularucupi. Montashea, punchu de aguas satillishca, aneaspi shitan largo. Chaipica montan mana montanshi ña semejanteta cunyacun mularucua. Cuando bruja cashea chaica, brujapi montashea.

Chashna ña shamushcalla, shamushcalla, shamushcalla. Ña maita cashpapish punchu de aguas tapashea paica. Cunan cashea cai Biblián chimba ladocuna maquinachaca chai ladolla shug jatun juteu tiyana cashea. Ñucapish segun que ricuchuncuna chaipimi cunan cai infierno punguca nincuna. Chaita

ñucapish ashataca casi llullarini. Shinaca ña chaiman yaicugta nin cunan cai mulapi montachish apashpaca. Chaipi mularucua ima mundota juin chayashcalla nin, chai pungutaca cada jaitado quimsa jaitaipi ucuta nin ña punguta. Pulvush shitash yaicuna nin ultimo quinto infiernoman ña chaica.

Chaimanta ña cusa chayashpaca nishca: - Ñuca huarmita rinimi mashcangapa cunanca. ¿Maitacha rirca? Shinashpaca ña puri callarishca shug semejante sacha huaicu montañata. Chaipi ima mundo yantaricun nin brujacuna, tucui huaicu junda paicunallata. Chaipimi shug chazu tupashca cutin. Chai chazu tupashpaca nishca nin: - Oi runitu, canca imata ruhuash puricungui? Pero primerolla nishca nin ña: - Amito, ima horasta mana pachata caipi cangui? Por si acasito ñucaman shug noticiata cui. - Ama amito nichu, amigo ni - nishpashi juin juriarin - , yachanimi ñucaca pero mana huillashachu - nishca ña.

Cuando ña diablo tupashca paihuanca, cusahuan. Chaipi shug jatun chicoteta charichishca. Entonces: - Ñuca yachanimi maipi cagtaga can huillangapaca. Entonces ri chai uraini huaicuman. Uraini huaicupimi mai maicunaca siricun. Pero ama carganata ruhuanguichu, paicunallata aparingallami. Yantatapish chaipi yantacuncunami mai maica. Camba huarmita shug partepimi.

Chaipi chicote charichishca. - Paicuna cargarish ña puri callaringacunami y canca chicotes alli caru carumanta caihuan llushtilla. Chaipica ña ni huishtugpi ama japiringuichu. Ni mana asentana chaicunaca, paicunapa munai rinllami.

Chicotes mai maipi ña huishtui callarigpica chaipica chicotehuan alli tucui lobragpica ninshi: - Ay Jesuslla! - ninshi. Chaipica: - Aha, cunanca "Jesus" nicungui. Chaipica: - Ñucapami carcangui - nishpashi ña ninanacuncuna paicunapurallata. Cuando brujocuna tucui juin aparirish paicunallata yantarishpa rina nin ña infiernoman yaicugta. Cunan uma puntamantaca, chupa siqui tullu urai tucui api talliricun nin, cunan cai mataca. Pero cai runitutaca nishca nin: - Ama huishtugpish japirichun. Alli llushtish ñumpachichun. Shinashpa cunan chai Biblián ñacalla mana nicuni, chai maquina pasana, chai lado, chai juteu chumamanea rina nin. Shug caipi p'uyu llutaipica ucuman. Paicunallatami yaicun nin juin. Jaitados cada jaitados ucuman punguta pascash. Chaipishi runitupish ucuman yaicuna.

Chaipica ña tupan nin chai diabloca. Nishca nin: - Cunanca huarmita rigishisha ninguichu? Jacu ricuchisha - nishpashi nishca. Entonces ricuchigrishca. Tucui ucupica ima mundoshi juin: cada filashi tiyacun segun castigocha ña, diabloacunaca castigacun segun jucha. Shug parte filaca semejante puro paila nin, shug partecá ima mundo lastima castigo nin, juin de una vez. Chaipishi ricuchin: - ¿Manchu cai? ¿Manchu cai? - nishpash juin ñumpash puricun ricuchishpa rigichishpa huarmita.

Al final, quinto infiernoman pasachishpa chaipishi nishca: - ¿Manchu cai? - nishca nin.

- Mana.

- ¿Manchu cai? - nishca nin.

- Ari, chaipi ñuca huarmita.

Alli tullpapi pailahuan alli ñitishca, chaipi tucui juin ninapi cunyacun. Ñahui murulla capiricun nin huarmita. Chaipishi: - Caipi ñuca huarmita. Cachariyá.

Imata ima cacharinga! - Ña chaica mana llugshinchu. Chaica ña para siempre saquirin caipi. Imapata huahuacunata p'inaica, huahuacunata mana ricui valirca. Cunanca entonces caipimi saquirin. Canea shamui caiman.

Shug cuchupi shug jatun allpa monton siricun. Chaimantami shug

corriente lampon jundata cun nin. Chaimanta shug lado cuchumanta cutin imatachari ashtan cun nin punchupi migllachishpa. - Caihuan ri huasiman. Shug esquinapi jutui, alli pambash shitai, y ucuman yaicut. Huahuacunahuan alli cai ricunguillapish caimanta shug semanapica ricungui. Maravillastami canca charingui.

Shinashpashi ña llugchish cachana cusataca. Shug ñahui quimllaipi ashata sueñorinman rigchaggica cunan cai Biblianchaca, chai jutcu nishca, chaipi taririna chai runituca.

Shinashpashi ña chaimanta shamun. - Ñuca huarmica saquirinmi infiernopi, ñuca cashnami shamuni - nishpa huahuacunaman huillana cunan taitaca.

- Mamaca infiernopimi. ¿Ña ima ruhuashun?

Al fin ña: - Cunanca caitami cush cachan. Caita shug esquinapi pambachun ninmi. Shinashpaca pambashun.

Ña chaipi jutui pambash qu'ipa shug semanapica maravillas ucupica taririshca nin, grano shina. ¿Imatami taita Dios bendiashca nishca o diablo ayudarca, imachari ña? Shinami ña causaica alzarina nin, huahua-cunahuan alli tiyan nin. Pero mamaca ña mana llugshin. Infiernopi para siempre saquirina cashea. Chaillami ñuca llullaca.

The woman who was abducted by the devil

Now I'll tell another tale. It goes like this; there was once a woman without children who married a man who had children already. Now she couldn't stand her stepchildren and used to get very angry with them. When their father was away at work she wouldn't give them anything to eat: "I can't stand the sight of these little brats," she would say. So what did she do? One day she was furious all day long: "Where on earth is my husband? How long will he be?" she thought angrily. Then she said to the children: "You go that way and you go there. I don't want you hanging around near me all day. You only stand around in the hopes of getting some grub. You go off and see your father, or go to the devil. I'm going with the devil once and for all."

She made herself some delicious food for the road: chicken and guinea-pig. Then she set off still saying: "Now I really am going with the devil. Let the devil take me."

Then she tied her food up in a bundle on her back and went, chasing the children away. In the evening her husband returned and couldn't find his wife: "Where has my wife gone?" he asked the children.

"She made some delicious looking food for the road, then chased us out of the house throwing stones at us, telling us to go just anywhere, or to go and find you, our father."

Now the woman had set off very early. As she went she said: "When I meet somebody I shall go with them."

Then she just walked a long way, as far as her legs would carry her, with the intention of going with whomever she met. She just walked and walked a great distance into a forest. Now the woman became hungry. When she felt hungry she sat down in a wide clearing in the middle of the forest to eat her food. As she was eating, there appeared a flock of buzzards coming through the sky. They wouldn't let her eat. For even as she ate they gathered together, swooped down and snatched away her food. But she said: "I'm going where the devil may take me," and more angrily and ill-naturedly than before, she went on her way. Getting up, she set off.

Then she met a handsome fair-skinned white man mounted on a white horse, "Master, take me with you," she said, "I'm going to go with the first person I meet."

Then the white man said: "No, I shall not take you with me. Behind me there's another landowner coming to take you with him. He is the one who needs you. I cannot take you with me. So just go on."

And he sent her on her way.

Somewhere farther on, a thick fog came down and it began to rain heavily. As it grew dark there were heavy claps of thunder. She was passing through a steep-sided gully. Then she met the landowner who was to take her away: "Please master, take me with you. I wish to go with whoever I meet. I told a white man whom I saw earlier on but he wouldn't listen to me. Will you take me?"

"Yes, I am here to take you away. I need you."

So saying, he made her put on a large rain poncho. He was a *chazo*, and told her not to call him 'master': "And do you have the habit of crossing yourself?" he asked.

"Yes, I do."

"Well, you forget that now you're with me. You mustn't say that any more now. So come here."

He mounted her up on the haunches of his mule and clad her in a rain poncho. That was a witch, that mule. She was mounted on a witch.

They came on and on along the road, who knows where, and she covered with the rain poncho. Now over by Biblián, just by the railway cutting there was a great gap in the rock. They say that the gate to Hell is there and I have been shown it too. But I'm lying a little on that point. So she was to go in there, carried on the back of the mule. Then the old mule began to kick at the door and in three kicks he knocked it down and shattered it. Then they went into the last, fifth Hell.

When her husband got home he said: "Now I'm going to look for my wife. Where can she have gone?"

And so he set off into a deep river gorge in the forest. There, they say, there were many witches collecting firewood, the gorge was just full of them. Then a *chazo* came by: "Hey, Indian, what are you doing here?" he asked.

But before that the man had asked him: "Master, have you been here for a while? Can you by any chance give me some news?"

"Don't call me 'master', call me 'friend'," replied the other, cursing, "I know but I shall not tell you."

Then the devil met the husband and handed him a big horsewhip, saying: "I know where there is someone who will tell you. So go down into the gorge. Down yonder in the gorge they are to be found. But don't you carry the load, they themselves will just carry it. They are gathering firewood down there. And your wife is in another place."

He gave him the horsewhip: "As they load up and begin to move off, you just flay them with this. (*Chaipica ña munai rinllami* -difficulty with translation).

Then as they began to flinch under the blows of his whip he cried out: "Ay Jesus!"

Then they said: "Aha, now you're saying 'Jesus', You were for us," they all said just among themselves.

Then the witches carried the load, having collected the firewood all themselves, to Hell. (*Cunan uma cai mataca* - difficulty with translation). But the devil said to the man: "Don't let yourself be caught. Drive them ahead of you, beating them well."

So now like that they went down into that gap in the rock that I mentioned before, in the railway cutting near Biblián. They went inside through the fog and mud. They kicked the door open and the Indian went inside too.

Then he met that devil who said to him: "Now do you want to spot your wife? Come and I'll show her to you," said he.

So he took him to show him. There inside in rows were all the punishments that the devils inflict, according to the sin. One row was all cauldrons,

they say; in another part were the people who were being beaten. He showed the man the sinners: "Is she this one? Is she this one?" he asked as he went ahead, trying to help the man recognize his wife. Finally he showed him through into the fifth Hell. "Isn't she this one?" "No."

"Isn't she this one?"

"Yes, there's my wife."

She was cooking right in a fire, squashed will into a pot placed between the fire bricks. Her eyes were popping out of her head. "Yes, there's my wife. Now set her free," said the husband. But as if the devil would free her! "She won't go out now. She will stay here for ever. Why did she scold the children and treat them badly? So now she must stay here. You come this way."

In one corner there lay a big pile of earth, and the devil gave the man a good-sized spadeful of it. Then he gave him some more from another corner, making him carry it in his poncho. "Take this home. Dig a hole in a corner and bury it deep down. In a week's time just go with your children and take a good look at it. You will have treasures."

And in this way he sent the husband on his way. In the twinkling of an eye he found himself back in that railway cutting near Biblián and it all seemed as if he had just fallen asleep.

And thus he came home. "My wife is staying in Hell, so I came home," he told his children.

"Mother's in Hell. What shall we do?" they said.

"The devil sent me away with this soil," said their father, "he told me to bury it in a corner. So let's bury it."

So after they had buried it all and a week had passed, wonderful things appeared in its place, such as grain. Could it have been a blessing from God, or was it help from the devil? Who knows? So thus life began to improve, and the man lived contentedly with his children. But the mother came out no more. She stayed in Hell for ever. That's my lie.

Informant: EG, 5th September, 1976

| | |
|-------------|---|
| S31 | Cruel stepmother |
| C12.2 | Oath: "May the devil take me if...." Devil does |
| G303.6.2,5 | Devil appears to persons ready to abandon their integrity |
| D42 | God in guise of mortal |
| E752.1,1 | Devil in disguise hunts souls |
| R11.2.1 | Devil carries off wicked people |
| G303.16.3,4 | Devil made to disappear by making sign of cross |
| G211.1,2 | Witch in form of mule |
| A671.0,3 | Entrance to cave as gate to hell |
| F80 | Journey to lower world |
| E755.2,4 | Ghosts gather wood for hell fires |
| E755.2,8 | Series of hells |
| E755.2,7 | Devils torment sinners in hell |
| G303.25,4 | Devil cooks folk in kettle |
| D935 | Magic earth |
| D859,2,1 | Magic object received from other world |
| D812.3 | Magic object received from devil |
| G303.22 | Devil helps people |

Tale 8: Diablohuan tupashca runa

Ricungui: shug viajero cana nin, manchu. Ñuca taita parlarca chaitaca, ñucami mana yachanichu. Shug viajero ñucanchi taitapa bisabuelo cana carca manchu. Cunan tiempomi carros tiyan; tucui tiyan siquierá, cartas maiman rina can. Tiempoca cartahuan rina cashca nin chaquillahuan.

Llugshina nin caimanta Cuencaman, Quitoman, Guayaquilman, maimampish, Chaica las dos, la una de la mañana o tres de la mañana, llugshina nin ña cartahuanca Cuencaman ñucanchi bisabuelos, chai,

Chaica entonces shug diablohuan tupana nin ari, shug diablohuan, Chai diablocas aparicushca nin ayata ataudi, Chai compañeroca nin nin diablotaça:

- Amito - nishca -, amito, ¿imaiman ricungui?

Amito nigpica entonces nina nin: - Ama amito nichu, amigo ni, Ñucaca mana amochu cani,

Amigo nigpica entonces chaihuan rina nin rina nin ña.

Chaimantaca ña maipicha shug plancha rumipi tiyarina nin. Ña samash 'jajj' nish tiyarina nin ña amigoca. Chaimantaca ataud ucupica nina nin: - Ay Jesus! ¿Ima maimanta aparingui? Ay Jesus! - nin.

- Ah, cunanca 'ay' nicungui. Chai ratoca imata 'ay' nicurcangui, cunanca 'ay' nicungui - nina nin.

Ña: - Ay Jesus! - nina nin.

Chaimanta rina nin cutin ña chai compañerohuampish rina nin, parlash parlash parlash. Ña huaicu huaicu huaicuta o'atish rina nin rinalla nin. Chaimanta ña maicha mai huasha llagtaman huasiman mai shug zambito tiyana nin, Shug zamboca: - Juracha! Juracha! Juracha! - nicunmi, Chaimantaca: - Ñuca pasacuni-lla, Mana ima paita ima nicunichu. Pasacuni-llami.

Cunan: - Ricushun: p'ucasha, p'ucasha, ¿Imatapa 'juracha! juracha!' nin? Allaucuna aullash nin, 'auau' nicuna nin, 'auau' nicuna nin amigo pasacugpica.

Chaipica ña chai compañeroca tapuna nin: - Amigo - amito nish atina nin -, amigo, ¿imata allichin p'ucushcapica? ¿Imata alli? - tapuna nin. Diosllatami licenciata cunmi, Chai huillag nin: - Caimi alli p'ucushcapaca: c'uchi desagua, marcu muyu p'ucushca, puleopi. Chai muyu p'ucushca - nina nin -, llullulla liucali ñahui, quimsa laya huiru, ashalla crispu, ashalla cacashca, recién cacashca - nina nin -, huallpa majadas.

Mas de chungu, ishcai chungu layami, mana yuyarini ña, Chai pasana nin p'ucunacha nin ña chai juracha nidortaca. Ña p'ucuna nin, ña rin ña, p'ucushca cacharin.

Rina nin rina nin ña cada puntopi samarasheca nin. - Ay Jesus! - nicunmi -, ay Jesus! - nicunmi.

Ña chaimanta rina nin. Chai huaicupi ña entonces ña cana nin chai churataca nin, caja ronca nin, luz nin, quillu nin, ima rosado nin, ima yuraglla ricurina nin, ima puca nin, ima yana nin, tucui laya luz y caja ronca nin. Chai tucui shamuna nin ña tupangapa ña chai condenado almataca. Chaipi nina nin compañerotaca: - Bueno, ñuca compañero, imata ruhuaipapish canca caillamanta cutiri, Imata ruhuangami caimanta cutiri - nin -, canca amigo cangui, canca mana juchasapa cangui, caillamanta cutiri. Imatapish nipa ñuca amigo, ñuca compañero - nina nin.

Chashna shamuna nin amigos caja ronca, luz, tupangapa alma condenadotaca. Chaillamanta cutimuna nin entonces chai amigoca, Chaica ña cutimuna nin maipimi 'juracha juracha' nicushca huasiman.

Chai juracha nidorea ña huañucushca nin quiru canirishpa ña libre. Chaipi entonces nina nin chai zambitota: - Bueno, ¿imamantata huañucunguiari? ¿Ñachu unai ungushca o mana?

Chaipica nina nin: - Recienicitomi allaucuna aullagpi maijan pasacunga nishpa 'juracha juracha' nircani. Chaillamantami ña yaicun mana yaicun cuerpo shugtaya imata tucuni, imalla - nin.

Chaillamanta nina nin entonces posadorca: - ¿Mashnata pagangui ñuca jambish cush?

Chaipica nina nin: - Can nishcatami pagasha. ¿Imata ningui? Ñuca cusata jatarichigpi can nishcataca pagasha.

Huahuaicuna bulla nin ña chitachina cerca ña. Bulla nin huacana ni ña

chutachingapa ña huañushca. Nina nin; - Pero nishcatami pagasha. Entonces; - Bueno, jambisha.

Tucui layata mañana nin chai amigo ima tucui huillashcata, Tucui laya libre libre, Tucui tandachina nin, Yacu ruhuana nin tucui. Chaipica ña shug cucharitapi quiruta ishcai ladomanta charinacushpa uviachina nin cucharitallapi, Chaica unai unaipica ña dentro de una hora o media hora shinapica ña parlana nin jatarish; - Cashna cashnami carcani, Uy, ¿canca imata cangui? ¿Dioschu cangui? ¿Imata cangui ñucata jatarichish? Shug vidamantami cutini - nina nin -, ñaca jatarircani, Maijan shuhuagcunachari, imacha, puricun. Chaillamantami 'juracha juracha' nircani, ¿Chaimi imacha pasani? Chaillami ataque nina nin, casi casi huañuni, P'u, chaipi ña alliyagpi cutin yanandichina nin,

Ña chai alli cagpi pasearicun; puricuna nin ña cunan imata Cañarejito cana nin. Nina nin; - Ñucanchi cai lllagata Cañarejos - nin, - ¿Imata ruhuangui? Cunan canoa Diosmi cashcangui, Chaimanta huarmica ashuaña nin, huallpas huañuchina nin, ovejata huañuchina nin, Farra cana nin, casi unos tres días de farra, Aij! uviana nin, mamita, uviana. Chaimanta huata y chugpi torota pagana nin ari, Cai estado torota, Chaica aisachishpa cachana nin jambishcamanta, Chai huasipica cucayutapish cachana nin cashna tazapi huallpa huañushca nin; cui huañushca nin; siquiera shug quimsa huallpa huañushca, Chaihuan shamuna nin, toro aisashca chai jambishcamanta, Chaillami tucurin,

The traveller who met the devil

This is a story that my great grandfather used to tell about a journey he took; I don't know it very well. Nowadays there are cars and so on and one can send letters to all parts. In the old days letters had to be delivered on foot; people would set out for Cuenca, Quito, Guayaquil, wherever you like. Our great grandfather would set off in the early hours of the morning, taking the letters to Cuenca.

Well, one day he met a devil who was going along carrying a body in a coffin. The traveller addressed the devil, saying: "Where are you going, master?"

At these words, the devil replied: "Don't call me 'master', I'm not one of the *hacienda* bosses, call me 'friend'." So, calling him 'friend', the traveller went along with him.

After walking for a while, they came to a big flat stone and the devil sat down with a gasp; "Let's rest now," he said.

Then from inside the coffin a voice was heard to groan; "Oh Lord! Where are you carrying me? Oh Lord!"

"Aha!" said the devil, "so now you're groaning! Awhile ago you weren't groaning at all, but now you're groaning alright!"

And the voice repeated: "Oh Lord!"

Then they set off again, the devil and his companion, talking and talking as they went. The companion followed him down and down into a deep ravine. And then they came to a house in a town down in the direction of Azogues where there lived a *zambo*. As they went by the *zambo* called out:

"Juracha! Juracha! Juracha!" to set the dogs on them.

The traveller just went on by, without saying a word according to all accounts. And the devil said: "Now then, I'll blow on the *zambo*. For what reason is he calling 'juracha'?"

The dogs started to howl as the friend devil went by.

When they had passed by, the traveller asked the devil: "Friend, tell me what is a good remedy to cure a person who has been blown upon?"

God himself had given his approval to the question. And the devil

replied: "A good remedy for a person who has been blown upon is to take pig's urine, some ripe *altamisa* berries together with some *puleo* leaves, some young leaves of eucalyptus, three different kinds of animal fat, a little creosote, some fresh dung, some hen's droppings,..." About twenty different ingredients in all, but I can't remember them all now. And they went past, the devil blowing on the man who had called out '*juracha*'.

And so they went on their way, stopping every few minutes to rest, and the voice from the coffin would call out: "Oh Lord!" On they went until they came to rest in a hollow. While they were in that resting place, the devils came in procession with the *caja ronca*, surrounded by lights of many colours: yellow, pink, white, red, black. All kinds of colours surrounded the *caja ronca*. And there it came to fetch away the condemned soul of the dead man in the coffin. Then the devil turned to his travelling companion and said: "Now my friend, why should you stay here? You go back now. These devils will not harm you, there's no reason. You are a friend, not a sinner. Just go back." For the other devils had come with the *caja ronca* and the coloured lights to collect the condemned soul. So the traveller returned to the house where the man who had shouted '*juracha*' lived.

He found him dying, with his teeth clenched tight in the throes of death. He asked the *zambo*: "What are you dying of? Have you been ill for a long time or not?"

And the *zambo* replied: "Just a short while ago, the dogs began to howl, and thinking it was some trespasser passing by, I called '*juracha! juracha!*' Since then a great illness has entered me, my body has quite changed. I don't know what's happening to me."

Thereupon the visitor said: "How much will you pay me if I cure you?" The dying man's wife broke in: "I'll pay whatever you ask. What do you want? If you put my husband back on his feet, I'll pay whatever you ask." The man's children were crying noisily together, for their father was close to being laid out. "I'll pay whatever you ask," said the wife. "Very well, I'll heal him," said the traveller.

Then he asked for all the ingredients that the devil friend had told him about. He had all the different things fetched and put together and with all those ingredients he made a medicine. Then using a spoon, he made the patient drink the remedy, forcing his teeth open on both sides. Time passed and then an hour and a half later, the sick man got up, saying: "What a state I was in! What are you? Are you God? What are you that you can cure me so that I can get up? I've come back from another life. A while ago I heard some people go by, and thinking they might be thieves, I called out '*juracha! juracha!*' Then what on earth happened to me? I had an attack and nearly died."

The traveller, seeing that the *zambo* was getting better, gave him another dose of the medicine.

Once the sick man was better, the *Cañarejo* continued to stay around. He said: "I'm from the race of the *Cañarejos*."

"Well, whatever you are, now you must be God," said the other. Then his wife prepared *chicha*, she killed some chickens and a sheep, and there was a great party that lasted almost three days. They drank and drank. Then they paid him with a year and a half old bull, as big as that one you see there. And they sent him home leading the bull as reward for the healing. And they sent him with a good supply of food for the road: at least three chickens in a big basket. And so he came home, with the basket of food and leading the bull, for having cured the dying man. That's the end of my story.

| | |
|------------|-------------------------------------|
| G303.3 | Forms in which the devil appears |
| G303.15 | Places haunted by devil |
| G303.20.4 | Devil strikes man dead with disease |
| F402.1.5 | Demon causes disease |
| G303.9.7 | The devil advises human beings |
| D1810.2 | Magic knowledge from devil |
| D1500.1.37 | Urine used in medicine |
| Q94 | Reward for cure |

Tale 9: El viajero quien se topó con el diablo

Uno diz que estaba viajando, Entonces estando viajando diz que dice se encuentra con un hombre llevando una tabla, Un pedacito de tabla así, Llevaba así (indicating right arm), o a la izquierda, no me acuerdo.

Diz que dice: - Tú ¿adónde vas?

- Estoy de viaje a Cuenca - diz que dice,

Entonces: - Yo también estoy yendo allá. Nos vamos iguales,

- Bueno, vamos,

Entonces empezaron a caminar los dos, Estaban caminando diz que dicen en una parte donde había una casa donde había muchos niños, ¿no? Entonces en la casa esa cuando salieron los perros ladrando así, ladrando y aullando un poco, los chicos diz que gritaban: - Juracha! Juracha! Juracha! - poniendo a los perros,

Ah! el diablo diz que dice: - Ya ves, yo estoy pasando cada uno y no vale de nada. Ahora que yo voy a dejar soplando - dice,

Entonces es que ya sopló, ¿no? Entonces ese hombre le preguntó: - Y el soplado, ¿qué va a pasar?

Diz que contesta que esos se van a enfermar, y tal vez que van a morir.

Entonces: - Qué, ¿habrá algún medicamento para eso? - diz que le preguntó,

- Claro que hay - diz que dice -, que den shalsha y semilla de altamisa y orina de mula,

Pero eso no es realmente mula, diz que dice, sino que es puerco, (Q) Osea dicen que la mula del diablo es el puerco, Entonces: - La orina de mula (no es realmente mula sino es de puerco), y caca de pavo y de gallina, Eso se refriega en agua y se da. Ese es el remedio para eso, Entonces van conversando conversando así, y él llevada la tabla,

Entonces van así, También pasan por donde que están los asaltantes, También la misma cosa, Entonces pasaron por allí, les cogieron las armas y dejaron en otra parte, Y pasaron tranquilamente, Y al regreso lo mismo, Entonces ya cuando llegaron en Peruncay: - Espérate aquí - diz que dice - no te mueves de aquí, Yo te voy a regresar de acá no más, Entonces él estaba viendo seguramente para dónde va, en dónde llega, ¿no? Entonces 'tas' en esa quebrada se abrió esa peña tal vez, pero no aparece peña por allí, una roca, Esa roca se abre y con ese sonido de las puertas; se abría no más, Entonces diz que vio adentro una llama colorado como un horno, Entonces la tabla que estaba teniendo le botó adentro al fuego, ¿no? Entonces dicen que no ha sido tabla sino ataúd, Entonces lo botó, Adentro diz que dice: 'Ah!i no más',

Entonces dejando eso salió y se pusieron de viaje otra vez, Llegaron a Cuenca y regresaron la misma noche, A Cuenca cuando viajaba él solo sabía hacer un día entero, Entonces yendo con él la misma noche a la casa, Entonces regresaron la misma noche, Pasaron por los asaltantes y vinieron, Entonces a lo que estaban al regreso diz que dice pasan por la misma casa que pasaron soplando, ¿no? Diz que dice: - Tú quédate aquí, Los niños ya han de estar en la agonia, Tú vas a avisar los remedios, Pero tú dirás que pague lo que tú pidas,

Entonces llegando ese hombre diz que dice: - Bueno, yo te puedo curar, El diablo ya se fue indicando eso ya,

- Bueno, pero que paguen.
 - Bueno - *diz que dicen* -, con todo gusto.
 Con tal que cura a los niños. Dice traigan tal cosa tal cosa lo que ha dicho el diablo. Y ya van a tomar. Y vivieron los niños. Entonces pagaron. Mucha plata tal vez. Quedó rico ese hombre, ya no tuvo que viajar ni nada. Ahí termina.

The traveller who encountered the devil

There was once a traveller who met, as he was travelling, a man carrying a board. A little piece of board like this. He was carrying it like this (indicating right arm), or under his left arm, I can't remember. He asked the traveller: "Where are you going?"

"I'm travelling to Cuenca."

"I'm going there too. Let's go together."

"Very well, let's go."

And the two of them began to go along together. They were passing a place where there was a house full of children, and when the dogs came out barking and howling a little, the children shouted: "*Juracha! Juracha!*" thus encouraging the dogs to attack the intruders. Thereupon the devil said: "That's not good enough. Now I'm going to blow on them."

So he blew, right? Then the man asked him: "And what will happen as a result of the blowing?"

The devil replied that the children would get ill and perhaps die.

"Might there be any cure for that?" asked the traveller.

"Why, of course," said the devil, "they must be given *shalsha* leaves, *altamisa* berries and mule urine."

But they say that it's not really mule but pig. (Q) Well, they say that the pig is the devil's mule.

The devil went on: "Mule urine (which is really from a pig), and turkey and chicken droppings. You mix that in water and give it. That's the remedy for that."

And so they walked on, talking all the while and the devil carrying the board.

On they went like that. They also passed the place where the bandits are. They did the same thing: they passed by, took their weapons and put them somewhere else. (*) Then they passed on without problem. On their way back, the same thing happened. Then when they arrived at Peruncay, the devil said: "You wait here. Don't move while I go ahead, and I'll be back for you in a minute."

Well, the man probably watched him to see where he went, right? Suddenly the cliff in that ravine opened, but there isn't a cliff there, it must have been a rock. The rock opened with the creaking sound of doors and they say the man saw inside red flames as of an oven. Then the devil threw the board he was holding into the fire, right? It wasn't a board after all, but a coffin. So he threw it in and a voice inside wailed: "That's enough!"

Then the devil came out, leaving that behind, and they set off again. They went to Cuenca and came back the same night. When the man went to Cuenca on his own he would take a whole day. But going with the devil he would be home the same night. So they came back the same night. They passed the bandits' hiding place and came on. On their return they passed by the same house where the devil had blown. The devil said: "You stay here. The children must be dying. You can tell them the cure. But tell them to pay you what you ask."

(*) the informant refers to Tale 15, containing the same episode

So the man arrived at the house and said: "Well, I can cure you."
For the devil had told him how. "But you must pay."
"Very well," they said, "it'll be a pleasure."

So he cured the children. He told them to bring the things the devil had told him. They drank the remedy and they lived. They paid him, probably a lot of money and the man got rich. He didn't have to travel any more or anything. That's the end.

Informant: GGG, 28th October, 1976

as for Tale 8, plus:

A671.0.2.1 Fire in hell

A671.0.3 Entrance to cave as gate to hell

B755.2 Souls in hell

Group (ii)

Tale 10: Molinomanta

Tiempo shi shug rina nin macheachingapa shug molinopi. Molinopica entonces tucui ña alzarish qu'ipa chayana nin. Chai molino dueñoyuca nina nin: - Mana cutagrinchu. Caya madrugashpa quizaschu utca gallo cantanca shamushpami cutasha - nina nin -, caillapi saqui - nina nin. - Imata saquiricushari. Cai mundo carumantami cani. ¿Entonces caillapita manchu pudini pacarinata? - nishca nin. Entonces: - Pudingui pacarinata - nishca nin -, pudingui pacarinata. Entonces lo que sea, ama manchanachinguichu imata. De repente pipish shamui, maipi shamui, maipi shamui, entonces uyaranguiari - nina nin.

Chashna entonces ña paica casi sueñucuna nin. Sueñucuna nin.

Ña unai tuta, casi shug chugpi tuta cercatachari nin. Pero chugpi tuta doce horas, doce de la nochetaca casi sano y limpio, casi ni ima mana ruido uyarin, mana ni imachu. Almacunapish purinmi casi siete de la nochetaca purin almacunapish y millai cucucunaca purinmi, las ocho y media hasta nuevecama purin, cucucunaca. Madrugado lo mismo, almitacunaca purinmi, las tres de la mañana ari, casi cinco de la mañana cutin cucucuna purin, las tres, las cuatro de la mañana purincuna. Chashnamí entonces cana nin molinopi, sueñucuna nin chai cutachingapa ridorca.

Chaipei sueñucugpi tuta chayamuna nin semejante bulla. Shamuna nin juin tucui layamanta tandanacushpa. Shugllancama shugllancama shugllancama yaicuna nin. Chaimanta chayana nin chai capitán nishca chayana nin jatun yana libro yana lapizrucahu. Chai ullahuanga plumashi cana lapizca. Chayamushpami anotana nin. Ña shugllancama chayacuna nina nin: - Can, ¿imata ruhuamungui? - nina nin. - Ñucaca mismo taitahuan hijahuanmi sueñuchimuni - nina nin. Chaipei entonces nina nin: - Allita cashca, allita cashca - nishca nin. Shugca cutin nina nin: - Ñucaca huañuchichiminimi - nina nin. Chaica: - Canca ashallata ruhuasheangui - nina nin. Cutin shug chayashpa nina nin: - Ñucaca cutin mismo turindi panindipi sueñuchimuni - nina nin. Chaimanta: - Canmi entonces ashtan ganangui votostaca - nina nin. Cutin shugca ña chayana nin: - ¿Can imata ruhuamungui? - Ñucaca maicha llagtapi yacutami jarcamuni. Ishcai huicundu pangallahuan ñucaca yacuta jarcamuni. Cunanca chaicunaca ñami ña ni imata, mana ima charincunachu, ni ima yacu ni ima. Ñami tucui tiyashca, huañucuncuna - nina nin shugca ña. - Can ashtan ganngui - nina nin -, can ashtan ganangui. - Chai shug jatun huaciu rumi, rumi ucupi yacuca - nina nin -, chai

rumi ucupi. Chai rumipi ishcai huicundu pangahuan huagtasheaca, chaica ñami yacu tuggyanga. Chaillapi yacuca jarcasheca siricun - nina nin. Cutin shugca chayashpa nina nin: - Can, imata ruhuamungui?

- Ñucaca huañuchichimurimi.

- P'a p'itilla ruhuamusheangui - nina nin.

Ultimo ña suchu chayashpami nina nin, ña chayasheca mana chayasheca:

- Caipica carne crudunlla hedicun - nina nin -, carne crudunllami hedicun.

Cai shug, chai sueñug huahuaca santihuarishpa nin, cruz tucushpa, ña rosariohuan cana nin, escapulariohuan cana nin. Entonces shina ña tublacuna puricuna nin, regresachish ña molinota purichi callarina nin. 'Bummm' nicuna nin ña.

Molinopishi paicuna tucui layata juin ña anotacuna nin jatun yana librorucupica tucui layamanta juin. Ña chai ultimo, suchu ultimo ña chayamushpami caipica: - Carne crudunlla hedicun - nina nin.

Chaimantami entonces ña gallocuna cantai callarina nin. Ña puca gallo cantagpi: - Eso es mto - nicuna nin.

Shug yana gallo cantagpi lo mismo: - Eso es mto - nicuna nin.

Yurag gallo cantagpi: - Eso es mto - nicuna nin, quichunacucuna nin.

Mishicu gallo cantagpica ura singa siricunacuna nin, millai runapa gallo nishpashi urai singa siricunacuna. Chaimanta rato el otro ña paicunaca ima shugigpica 'tas' entonces jatarina nin rosariohuanca. Chaica

chaipishi nina nin: - Almara shamurman, Alma ñucanchita manchachinllami - nina nin.

Chaipi ña dicho hecho, Diositochari ña casi shungu yuyaita curca.

Chaipica nina nin, chashna 'aaaaa' nina nin. Chaipica ña juin chaipi shitash jichush suchucari yaicunallapish cana. Cai shugcuna cuchumanta llugshishpa libre sarunacush juin. Paica ultimota rina nin chaipi tucui libroca saquissh tucui. Yacu jarcasheca, chai huicundu pangacuna libre chaipi saquisshpa rina nin, paica ña libre casi chaipi libre saquirina nin. Tucui anotacunahuan, tucui juin: pipimi sueñucushca, pita huañuchimusheca, ima shina huañuchimusheca, tucui juin anotashca ña chai libropi saquirina nin. Chaillami ñuca cuentoca.

The haunted grinding mill

There was once a man who went to have some grain milled. He arrived when everything had been put away for the night. The miller said to him: "I'm not grinding any more now. Tomorrow morning at first cockcrow I may come to grind. Just leave your grain here."

"As if I'm going to leave it here," replied the man, "I've come a long way. Can I not stay the night right here?"

"Yes, you can stay the night here. But in all events don't let yourself be frightened. Someone might come, you never know. So keep an ear open." And so the man went to sleep.

The night passed and it must have reached about midnight, although at midnight the night is usually quiet: not a sound is to be heard. Spirits walk abroad at around seven o' clock in the evening, and the devils walk between eight-thirty and nine. In the early morning too: the good spirits walk about at about three am, and then the devils at about three, four or five in the morning. So there was the man who had gone to get his grain made into flour asleep in the mill.

At night while he was sleeping there, there came a terrible din. All kinds of devils came in a group. One by one they entered the mill. Then the one they call the captain arrived with a big black book and a huge quill pen made of a buzzard's feather. When he arrived he wrote

in the book. One by one they arrived and he spoke to them; "What have you done out there?"

"I have made a father sleep with his daughter," came the reply.

"Well done, well done," said the chief devil.

then another said: "I made a man commit murder."

"You have done little," said the devil.

Another came up and spoke: "I on the other hand made a brother and sister sleep together."

"Then you will win a lot of points," came the reply.

Another came up: "What did you do out there?" he was asked.

"I stopped up the water supply in some town way off. Simply using two *huicundu* leaves I blocked off the water. Now those folk have absolutely nothing; no water, nothing. They are all dying."

"You earn a lot of points," said the chief.

The other devil went on: "The water is behind a huge rock in a river-bed. If the rock was struck with two *huicundu* leaves, then the water would burst out. The water is lying blocked just in there."

Then another devil arrived,

"And what have you done?"

"I made a man kill."

"Huh, you have done little," was the verdict.

The last devil, a cripple, was approaching slowly; "There is a smell of raw flesh around here," he said, "there's a smell of raw flesh."

Then that young man who was spending the night in the mill crossed himself for protection. He also had with him a rosary and a scapular. Then the devils began to set the machinery in motion and the mill began to turn; 'bummm' it sounded.

So there in the mill they wrote down all kinds of things in the great black book. And that last crippled devil smelt the presence of human flesh as he came. Then the cocks began to crow. When the red cock crowed, the devils said: "That's my cockerel."

When a black one crowed, the same: "That one's mine."

Hearing the white cock; "That one's mine," they said, and dismissed it.

But when the *gallo mishicu* crowed, they lay face down on the ground.

When their enemy's cockerel crowed, they lay down together on the ground.

While they were doing that, the man who was hidden suddenly got to his feet holding the rosary. Then the devils said: "The spirit may come yet; and the spirit will indeed frighten us."

And frightened they were; perhaps God gave the man courage to act.

'Aaaah' cried the devils. There and then they abandoned everything. And the crippled devil had been about to come in also. The other devils came out of their corners, trampling on each other as they went. And he (the cripple) followed them at the last, leaving the books behind and everything. Leaving the book where the details of the water blockage were noted, they scattered. And the man stayed behind with all those notes: details of who had slept with whom, who had killed whom and how. Everything remained behind written in that book. That's my story.

Addendum

On a subsequent occasion the informant was asked to clarify the tale's ending. He explained further as follows:

The water was blocked by two *huicundu* leaves, but by beating against these with a certain large stone it would be released. The man is able to gather this information by eavesdropping (and, we assume, from the devils' book), and will be rewarded for his service. The same applies to the other 'evils' set down in the book: the hero will use the information to set things to rights. The narrator further remarked that these events took place in the *Tiempo de Dios Padre*, ie. before this

creation when, he explained, trees, stones and mountains could speak.

Informant: EDC, 29th August, 1976

| | |
|--------------|---|
| G303.15.3 | Devil haunts a house |
| G303.6.1.1 | Devil appears at midnight |
| G303.25.19 | Parliament of devils |
| G303.6.1.2.1 | Devil writes into book names of those who call on him |
| G303.9.4 | The devil as tempter |
| G84 | Fee-fi-fo-fum. Cannibal returning home smells human flesh and makes exclamation |
| Q242 | Incest punished |
| Q211 | Murder punished |
| N451.1 | Secrets of animals (demons) accidentally overheard from tree hiding place |
| N452.1 | Remedy for lack of water in certain place overheard in conversation of animals (demons) |
| Al751 | The devil's animals and God's |
| Z65.2 | Series: white cock, red cock, black cock. These crow at dawn and scatter ghosts |
| G303.17.1.1 | Devil disappears when cock crows |
| D771.7 | Disenchantment by rosary or scapular |
| F933.2 | Dry spring restored by removal of certain stone |

Tale 11: *Diablota huasiman yaicushca runa*

Shugca maimancha rirca, rishcalla nin. Napish ña chishiyagpica caillapi posasha nishpashi. Ña huasi esquina shinamantaca, ñanmantaca c'ayana, c'ayana, pi mana uyarin, chunlla. Huasizitu cushnicuna, maijanca caipi causashpami, huasi cushnicunga, imachari ashalla ucupi uyarigpica rina nin arrimarish pungu corredorman. Chayash c'ayagpica ucupi uyarin nin: - Shamulla, shamulla, ucullaman arrimari - nishpa.

Ima horasmi huanurca nin chai huanugsitumi entonces cutin c'ayana nin, Chai huanugmi c'ayana nin yaicuchina nin. Chaica chaipimi manguitacuna chaicuna timbucun. - Chaicunata alli ricuichi, chayachi alli micui, ñucamanca favorta ruhuai - nish. Ari nish: - Chaicunata tucui ruhuashpaca huasi huasha maicha shinallapimi shug romero huerta tiyanga - nin -, chaicunata amush ñuca jahuapi shitash cui - nin -, ñucataca ña apag shamungacunami - ninashi.

Chaipi ari nishpa, chaica shina micurcacha imachariyd, ima alverja nin, ima motisitu nin, nina jahuapica, mangacunapica. Paica siricuna. Shinash rishpaca, romerotacari marcata amushca nin. Marcata amushpaca tucui cuerpo jahuapi juin shitana nin, saunapi ahecata churana nin. Chaipishi nina cunanca: - Chaica alli micui, alli cambia huigsa pagtata. Apag shamungacunami ñucataca. Canca altoman huichaicungui - nishpa. Ari, ña tucui amsaymin, bastante amsataca. Shina ña tucui chaicunata ruhuashpaca altoman huichaicuna ña. Alto escalerata c'atish huichai-cushpaca alto esquinallapish tiyacuna chai runituca.

Bastante unai amsataca ña, ñashi uyarincuna: 'taran' 'taran' 'taran' nish. Ña apangapa rincuna nin. Ña apangapa rishcacuna nin. Chaipi tiyacuna nin, ña sumag Diosito nishpa, Diosman pero. Pero chaica medallahuan cana nin. Diosmi medallataca cun, jatun medalla. Chaica mai, ima maipi uyarigpica ña medallata nombragpica chai rato ña. Chashnashpaca ñashi ima mundo maestrocuna tucui ña punguman yaicushpa ucuman yaicunrucuna. Ucupica mai bancocuna imacha tiyana carca. Chaipishi filallarucuna tiyarin. Ceracunataca cuhu quinraicunapi maipipish cacharish shitan nin. Ceracuna semejante bestia tullucuna nin. Chaicunaca jaganicun nin, Shinashpaca entonces ña altoman

huichaicushca alto cushupi tiyacuna nin. Chaipi yaicunrucuna nin 'p'uaa' cushu muyundi bancocuna imacunacha tiyana carca, Chaipishi filallarucuna tiyarín. Filallarucuna tiyarishpaca entonces que parlo nin juin. Shug rucuca ashun mas de una vez imapa mana valish..... (recording indistinct for two sentences).

Chai quimsa cruz apashcarucuna chai mayor cabezaca. Chai cruzta ladopi shayachishpa tiyacun nin: - Canea, imatata trabajamurcangui?
- Nucaca cai cai caita trabajamurcani.
- Ahá allimi. Canea cutin, imatata trabajamurcangui?
- Nucapish cai laya chai layatami trabajamurcani.
- Allimi.

Tucupish: allimi paimanca. Na cutin shugman tapun chaica cutin nin:
- Nucaca trabajamurcanimi shug solterahuan shug mozohuan - ninashi.
Chaitaca na chayachig nichin nin, chaitaca mana manashi paipachu. (Chaica mana jucha casheachu solterahuan mozohuan sueñuchina - interruption from audience) Shina na pasan tucui callimanta ima, callimantami nucanchi bulto racional. Cunan tucui ima huallucuna maipi ima juin abrigacionta, Shina tiyacushparucunaca na, shina shugta castigashpa tiyacun. - Bai cunanca, caiman pasai hombre, caiman pasai - ninashi. Chai ashun huishtutaca. Mana uyana nin chaica. Shina pungu umbralpi tiyarishpa atin nin. Mana cushuman pasan. - Nucapish ima uyarigpica caimanta cancuna jataringacama na nua callpashami - nish.
Como ni ima mana callpana campota charishca nin. Altomantaca na na sentishca nin na huichaicuna nin. - Na apaichi, na jatarichi, apaichi. Paica jatarishpa paipi jahuallitu alzagrigpica maitayá ni maiman, ni rumi nin. Chai mas huishtushi chaishi shug p'itishituta cuyuchina. Amen. Romero.

Chashnashpaca entonces na nacha sentin ullahuangacunaca ninyá. Maicha escalerata ishcai quimsa gradata c'atish risheahuanca. Na chaipi saquirina nin jahucamantaca medallita medallita: - Da p's soltando de estos judios - ninashi. Chai rato gallocunaca tucui muyundichari huasicunaca tiyarcayá. Ima shina cashpapi, chai shug solo cutin maipi huanuna, pi mana compañaca. Chai shug solo rishpaca ashun salvashpa rin nin. Chaipi entoncesca na shayag saquirina nin na escalerapi mana astan huichaicun nin. Chaipi: - ¿Qué gallo canta? - nin.

- Gallo negro.
- Mto. ¿Qué gallo canta?
- Gallo blanco.
- Mto - nin -. ¿Qué gallo canta?
- Callimanta gallo. Gallo negro.
- Mto - nishpallata.

Que gallo huagnascuta na. Mana Diosito licenciata cushcaca. Tucui muyundicha huasicuna maipi tiyana carcayá.

Chaipica entonces que na nina nin: - ¿Qué gallo canta?

- Ese gallo mishicu - nin.
- Ese es del brujo - ninashi.

Del brujo nishcahuanca chashna pungupi tiyacugtaca chaipi del todito sarushpa polvush shitashpa llugshig runacuna, gallo mishicu na cantagpica. Chaipi juin tucui ultimo sarush shitash pasarishca qu'ipashi, jatarish ima mundota huishtuyash c'atirin. Paira atiridorea maita, Shinashpashi entonces que na sumag Diosito manara ima ima chai cagpica, shinash na chaipi cuerpohuan pagta pacarish patojocunata tucui callpachishpaca. Cutin patojocunaca maipi ima tucun. Pai huahuaca tucui chaicunata alli alvertina nin, na Dioscharyá. Rimachirca. Tucui ima ima ruhuashcacunata juin paica micush, tucui imanash.

Na chaipi pacarishpa cayandica chai tullu ceracunataca tandash aparishpa rina nin ña hombre maicha rey llagtaman. Maipimi rey llagtaca. Chaipica maldecido ladroncunaca yacuta pacamushcanid. Ciudad entero yacuta. Chaimi alli uyashpaca chai tullucunata patojocunapa cera tullucunata aparishpa rishca nin ñampi yaicushpa. Maipi chai rey llagta chayangacama. Chayacushpa cagpica nin de verasta yacuca ni maipi ni esperanza. Animal huahuacunami, ima maipi racional imahuan ima ruhuana imahuan uviana. Ni maipi ni ima esperanza. Chaquicuncuna animal huahuaca bultocuna maipi chashna. Yacu semejante yacucuna maipi chushag chaquishca. Shina chayashpashi nina: - Bai, ñuca cashna shamuni. ¿Ima shinata caica cai tucush tiyacunguichi? Cai ciudad enteroca - nishpa. Chaipishi parlanacuncuna:- Cai modomi tucunchi.

- Bueno, ñucaman imashnata paganguichu ñuca yacuta llugchish cusha? Mai maicuna creina nin, mai maicuna mana creina nin: - Cunan cai ciudad enteroca pi mana pudinchu, maimanta. Cunan caicari imatata ñucanchimanta llugchish cunga - nish. - ñucanchi pagashun tandanacush mashnatapish pagashun pagata japinga maita ringa, fuera - nish mana creina.

Shinashpaca entonces: - Bueno, imata mana cashna ningui? ¿Imapish tucunchi? - nishpa tucui chai patojocunapa ceracuna ricuchishpa tucui. Chaipishi tucui entonces pueblo enterocuna jatarishpa. Tucui padres curas tucui jatarishpashi ña. Ña creina nin, ña ricuna nin tucui ima shina cashcata. Shinashi chugpica crein nin, chugpi genteca mana creina nin: - Bueno yacutara llugchish cuchun ñucanchi alli dobleta pagashunllami - nishpa.

Entonces chaipica ari nishpaca ña compromiso ruhuashcacuna nin ña. Chai yacu llugchidorea ña mana creina ninyá. Maipi ima layamanta. Chashna pero ña sumag Diosito ña paipa munahuan chai ruhuashcaca ña tucui juin tandanacushpa ima mundo gente, mayor menor gente, tucui llagta entero tandanacushpa. Entonces: - Bai, mana cuna llugchin, llugchishun bai tandacacuichi.

Ultimo gente mashna cashpapish tandanacushpaca, maipichá, chai Calvario, chai Calvario lomapimi yacuca. Ishcai ladomanni shayacunga jatun manzana yurarucuna. Chai chugpipimi yacuca. - Bai jacuchi ricungapa - nishpaca ña.

Chai cayandica ña churana nin tucui gente novedad junta. Ña pai huahuataca chugpica churashcacuna ña. Ña rina nin alli tucui chinzhichishca tucui. Ima mundo gente chugpita. Rin nin ricuchincuna nin, caipimi. Luegohá caimanta mai bastante corrientepi cashcanga yurarucunaca chai chugpipi yacuca. Chaipica allan allan allan huahuacuna nin p'u alli chai huiracocha, alli caballerocuna summerucunapi migllashpa nin, puñadushpa nin allpata llugchishpaca. Junta aspihpa, shug metro ucupica ñashi bastante humedo tupashca. Yacu allpa humedadca. Chaipi entoncesca caipimi caipimi yacuca. Vamos ucumanea astan cushillacuna tucui genteca pudishpaca puñadushpa nin, migllashpa nin, sumerrucunapi, ima latacunapi, ima shilacunapi. Pero ñampi ña juin huaica juin. Ña casi ishcai vara ucutacha allagpica, ña yaquituca ricurinaniari. Chaipicari del todito yacuca ña ucuman ña chai ishcai lado chimba purishpashi entero verde qu'ihua saporucunaca tiyacushca, chugpipica yacu nin. Ishcai lado esquinanaca semejante animalrucuna. Nahui murucuna del todito mancharish callpana ña. Tiyacushcacuna chugpipi. Chugpipica yacu. Ima chaíta mana alli, sichari imata ruhuarcacuna, imachari sapocunataca. Librechari llugchish shitarcacunalla imachari. Ima mundo genteca maipica imata ruhuashcami canga si. Sapocunataca, Yacuta jaracash tiyacupica. Chai sapoca ashun ashun humedad tupan, ishcaitata yaquituca ña saltamun nin sapocunaca ricurin nin. Sapocunata sichu huanichin o sichu causagta llugchish shitancuna imami, chaipica

yaquituca maipi ima shinami tiyarca, achcalla cash, ashalla cash, junducuna cash, ima cashpapish, maipimi yaquito ashalla cash achcalla cash tiyashcapi nin yacuca juin juinta llugshishca.

Chaipicarín munai tucunacuna nin uvianacuna nin, juin ima shilacunapi, ima escudillacunapi, ima huallacunapi. Pero juin pudirinacuna nin yacuta. Chai yacu llugshishcata cutin Diosta shina cutin juin. Na mana cacharina nin juin chaipi, juin Diosta shinashi charinacuna. Yacuta cushcamanta. Muy mai rey llagtamenta mai chai maipi. Ima mundo llagtacha carcayá. Shinashpashi yacutaca llugshina sapocunataca, Chaita mana alli uyashcani. Sichu huanuchircacunachari llughishpalla shitarca imami, chai ishcai saporucunataca. Chaicunata shina ruhuasha nishpa. Chai verderucunaca manchanaipatapish, jiru animal verderucunaca, Chai rucunashi yacuta pacangapa utileuna.

The man who entered the devils' house (synopsis)

Whilst the general meaning of the text is clear, the elderly informant used many obscure turns of phrase which made it difficult to arrive at a free-flowing translation; instead, therefore, a synopsis is given:

A traveller arrives late at night at a deserted house. A voice within bids him enter, which he does. The voice belongs to a dead man who is lying waiting to be fetched away by the devils. He asks the traveller to fetch rosemary and throw it over him, in return for which favour the traveller eats from plentiful pots of food in the house. Then he takes refuge in the upper storey of the house, as the soul advises. He is holding a religious token as protection against the devils.

The devils arrive in procession, carrying candles made of horse-bones that burn with a green flame. They take up position in the room below and report to the chief devil on the sins they have caused to be committed. A crippled devil is the last to approach. They go to carry away the dead man. They hear the traveller moving and go to investigate. The latter protects himself with the religious token, then the cocks begin to crow. As each colour cock crows, the devils deny their power, until the crow of the *gallo mishicu*, when the devils are overcome and scatter.

The traveller then gathers up the candles they have left behind and goes to the town where the water has dried up, as he had overheard the devils say. In the town, the people and animals are dying of thirst. He offers to unblock their water for payment. The people don't believe in him until he shows them the devils' candles as proof of his story. Everyone lends a hand and digs to release the water. At the place where the water is blocked, two green frogs are found, of a kind believed to be 'ill-omened'. The traveller is paid for his services.

Informant: JY, 13th December, 1976

as for Tale 10, plus:

| | |
|-----------|------------------------------|
| E281 | Ghost haunts house |
| F166,11 | Abundant food in other world |
| H84 | Tokens of exploits |
| G303,10.2 | Toad as follower of devil |
| Q10 | Deeds rewarded |

Tale 12: Chingarishca huahuacuna

Chai huambra purishca nin tucui sachata purishca nin. Pero mana ñanta tarishca. Mana maita llugshinata mana pudishca. Entoncesca chugpi sachapica shug huasi taririshca, cushniyashca huasi taririshca. Chaipi paica posashca: - Caipica pi gentemi causanga - nishpa. Mana pi causag cashca como ser enemigo malopa samana huasilla cashca. Chaipi yaicushpaca paica, jatun huasicha carcayá, jatun cashca, ña chaipi paica chayashpa, ña chaipi tutayashca: - ¿Imata tucuni? ¿Ima shinata cani? ¿Imatata micusha? ¿Imatata imanasha ña? Ña quimsa punshami cashca ña mana micushca, mana ima, huambritucunaca. Paicunata ña tuta japishca. Tuta japishpaca imachari juin manchanayashca. Manchanayashcami nin juin, espíritu juin manchasca nin. Alto cashca nin. Entoncesca altopi cuerpoca siricushca nin, chai ucupica, Cuerpo siricushca nin, aya nishun, aya siricushca nin chaipi.

Shamuncuna nin, ima shutishpa shamuncuna nin. Chayancuna cuerpohuan, tuta. Chayancuna nin semejante 'tarag' 'tararag' 'tararag' nishpashi chayancuna. Semejante ceracuna cuenta, pero mana ima ceracunachu nin sino es que caballo tullucuna nin, ima tullucuna nin, chaicunapi huagdashpa shamun. Cutin chai nina c'uru nishca manachu tiyan, jagan jagan. Chaicunaca luces luces tucushpa, luces tucushpa chashna. Chai tucui lucescuna, tucui chai caballo tullucunapish jaganlla nicun nin. Chashna huacashai chayacuncuna ña cuerpohuan chai huasiman, Chai huasiman chayana nin. Huambritucunaca altopishi chapancuna. Chai altopishi juin manchai, mana samai llugshishpa tiyacuncuna nin altopica. Chashnashi chapacun. Chashnashi: - Aquí cullqui hay, carne crudo - nishpashi nin.

Upallitullami tiyacuncuna nin huambritucunaca. Cunanca: - ¿Imata tucunchi? ¿Ima cashun? ¿Imashinata llugshishun caimantaca?

Chaimantaca huambritucunaca altomantaca meanai japishca nin. Paicunaca semejante mesashi, chai cuerpohuan chayashpaca alegre tiyacuncuna nin micushpa tucui imanashpa. Ima imatachari micushpa tiyacuncuna nin. Jahuamantaca cutin huambritucunaca meanai japigpica mearishca mismo mesallapita. (laughter from audience) Chaimantaca maqui huagdashpashi: - ¿Imata? ¿Qué es p's este? ¿Por qué está cayendo agua? ¿Qué pasa? - nishpashi tiyacun -, vamos a ver - ninacun nin. Shinashpa chaipica upallitu tiyacugpica chai huambritucunaca gallitota apashcuna cashca ña. Mishicu gallitota apashpa chashna chingarishpa puricushcuna. Ña chugpi tuta ña gallo cantana horas ña. Gallo cantana horastaca ashun ña paicuna chashna tandanacushpa tiyacugpica: - Mana, shuyai, shuyai. Tiyacuncuna nin tucuita listapi, listata ruhuashpa. Ruhucuncuna nin juin.

Chaipi chai supaicunataca ninmi nin, chai capatazca ninmi nin: - ¿Canca imatata trabajamunguiari? - nin.

- Nuca caita trabajamuni: ñuca compadrehuan comadrehuan sueñuchimuni. Cutin shug ña chayan nin: - ¿Canca imatata trabajamungui? - Nuca turindi panindimi sueñuchimuni.

Cutin shug ña chayan nin, como ser caipi shug gente trabajopi patrorman huillash cuenta ima trabajota, chashna chayashpa. Ña chayan nin shug cutin: - ¿Canca imatata trabajamungui?

Chaipica: - Nuca panindi turindimi sueñuchimuni.

Cutin shug chayan nin: - Nuca padrinhuan hijadahuanmi sueñuchimuni. - Bien está, bien está - nishpashi nin.

Chaica chaipi cutin shugca ña ultimotaca ninmi nin: - ¿Canca imata

trabajamungui?

-Ñucaca solterahuan solterahuanmi sueñuchimuni.

- Camba trabajoca mana valinchu - nishpaca castigashpa eachana nin chaitaca, - mana allichu trabajashcangui - nishpa.

Solterohuan solterhuanca chaica mana paicunapa, mana trabajashca,

Chaica chashnashpami entoncesca chashna tiraniata paipa ña cuentasta cucun nin: ima trabajashcata, tucuita. Juin semejante jatun libro-rucupishi chai capatazca tucui trabajocunataca chasauicun. Chaica chashnacugpica chai huambritucunapa galloca cantashea nin jahua altomantaca: 'cucurucu' nishpa cantashea nin chai huambritucunapa galloca. Chaipicari tucui tугyashpa del todito maita rinata acertashea. Juin rishcacuna nin llugshishpa. Chaimantaca chaipi paicunaca ña chai librotaca shitash jichushpa rishca. Mana apashpaca rishca. Shitash jichushpa rishca. Ima yacucunata jarcashpa nin, yacucunata tucui maipi canacá. Chaipica yacuta jarcash yacuta pambashpa nin. Chaicuna mana imahuan mana micunata pudin. Huagra mana yacuta uvianata pudin: -¿Imatata tucunchi?

Chaica chaipica nishca nin: - Mana, ñuca yachanimi chai yacutaca, maipimi yacu.

Chaica ña chai yacutaca chai huambritucunaca ña huillashca: - Cashna cashnami nin, chai supaica nishpa cashnami nin. Ñucaman pagaichi, ñuca llugchishpa cusha.

Chaipi ña huambritucunamanea mana creishca nin: - ¿Imata cai huambra mana valincuna? ¿Imata yachanga? Imashinami llugchina, imashinami imataca, llullashpa - nishca nin mana creishpa.

Chaica: - Ñucanchica cai modo cai modomi yachashpa shamuni. Cashna cashnami cashpa shamuni. Ñucaca de verastami ñucaca yachani.

Chaica ña: - Yacutaca ña llugchishpa ñucaman pagachun tantota. Ñucaca llugchina cusha.

Chashna nishpaca peoncuna tucui jatarishpa rincuna nin yacu maipimi yacu jarcashea maipi yacu pambasheata llugchingapa. Chaimanta ña yacutaca llugchincuna nin. Chaipica creisheacuna que de verastami cashea,

The lost children

There were some children who got lost in the forest and were unable to find the way out. They came to a soot-blackened house in the middle of the wood and there they took refuge thinking there would be people there. But there were no people there at all for it was just a house used by the devils as a resting place. They went into the big house and as night fell they wondered what would become of them and what they would eat. They were there for three days without eating. The night came down on them and they became afraid. There was a soul there that frightened them. There was an upper level to the house and it was there that a dead body was lying.

Then in the night the devils arrived making a hollow banging sound as they came. They were carrying torches - apparently candles but in fact made from the bones of horses and other animals perhaps. They came banging on these. Then there was the burning of glow-worms. So there was light from these and from the bone-torches as the devils came. In this way they came together to the house with a corpse. They arrived and the children watched them from above. They were very afraid as they lay there holding their breath and watching. One of the devils said: "There's money, here, there's raw meat here." The children lay there quietly wondering what would become of them and how they were going to escape from that place.

Then the children needed to urinate from where they were on the second floor of the house. The devils having arrived with the corpse were happily gathered below at a table eating. Then when the children felt the need to urinate, they did so all over that very table! Then the devils clapped their hands together and cried all together: "What's this? Why is water falling from upstairs? What's happening? Let's go and see."

Now it happened that as the children lay quietly up there they had with them a cockerel. They had been wandering lost carrying a *gallo mishicu* with them. The hour of cockcrow was approaching already. But despite this the devils were gathered together making a list. So they decided to wait before investigating the water.

Then the chief devil addressed the other devils: "What work have you done?" he said.

"I have made a *compadre* sleep with his *comadre*," came the reply.

Then another devil approached: "And what work have you performed?"

"I made a brother and sister sleep together."

Then another came up; for the process was rather like when people report to the foreman after some task of work has been carried out.

The chief devil asked: "What have you done?"

"I too made brother and sister commit incest."

And another: "I made a godfather sleep with his goddaughter."

"That's good, that's good."

Then to the last he said: "And what work have you done?"

"I made a single man sleep with a single girl."

"Your work doesn't count," and the chief devil dismissed that worker with a punishment, saying he had not done a good job. For to make single people sleep together is not the devil's work.

So in this way the devils rendered their accounts to their leader. The chief devil entered a report of all the work into a huge book. As he was doing so the children's cockerel crowed 'cockadoodledoo' from upstairs. Then indeed the devils were overcome and escaped as best they could from the house. As they rushed to make their escape they left the book behind. In it were details of how they had caused the water to be cut off in a certain village. The inhabitants had nothing to eat and the cows nothing to drink. So the children used this information and went there. They said: "We know where the water is blocked. We know because we know what the devils did. Pay us and we will release the water."

But the people did not believe them: "What can these youngsters do? What can they know about how to release the water? They're lying."

But the children insisted: "This is how we come to be here," they explained, "we really do know." Then they said: "When we have released the water, then you must pay us so much. We will let the water out."

And so saying they went with a group of workmen to the place where they knew the water to be blocked. And they released the water. Then the people knew they had been telling the truth.

Informant: MC, 10th December, 1976

as for Tale 10, plus:

Q242.1 Cohabitation of godfather and godmother punished

Tale 13: Misihuan ovejahuan

Shug tiemposhi tiyana nin shug misi juin jillu, de una vez jillu. Ni ucuchata ni pericotetacari manashi pagtachinchu. Tucui ucuta limpiashpa ña mana millpunata mana tarishpaca japiri callarishca nin vecinopa cuicuna, quesillo, imalla golosinacuna tiyashca imalla cocina ucumanta, cai hambrientoca, chai jillumanta imachari. Chaimantaca entonces shug punzhaca rishca nin. Cunanca maipichá ovejitashi shayacushca nin shinallata mana mi..., chushag lluchu puzunlla huatashca shug pambapi, lluchu pambapi. Chaipica misi chayashca cungailla: - ¿Ima tucush canca chayacunguiyá? - nishcashi ovejatata misica.

Cutin misica nishca nin: - Canca de gana caipi shayacungui. Facilmi jacu maita. Maita rishun, bai jacu - nishpashi nishca.

Ovejata nishca nin: - ¿Ima shina ñuca cashnapi huatashcapi risha? Ni dueñocunaca mana shamun, chashna pacarini caipi. Yarcaipi chiripi juin huafuna cerca cani.

Cunanca: - Ñucapish chashnallata ña yarcaipi huafugricuni. Ucupipish tucuchini. Mana ashun maipi imata micui pudinichu, De una vez maita jacu diablo apashpa - nishpashi nin.

Entonces ishcai tucushpa huillanacushpa nishpashi nin: - Rishun, bai - nishca nin.

- ¿Ima shina risha? - nishpa nigpica ovejata cutin misica ima nishca nin: - Mana, facilmi. Ratopi ñuca bai carajo - nishca nin -, canca ñucataca ama bai ninguihu. Ñucaca aspisha estacata alli cuchiupi huascata polvo shitasha y jacu. Shamungacamanca pi dueño maijarpi ricungacamanca ñucanchica ña largarishun. Pero condicion de que maipi ima yarcái japigpi, ima tutayan purayan, ima quilla tuta, imapish cachun, yacu jundashca maita cagpipish, ñucaca ñuca micunata micushami, pero cutin cambia micunata mana carai pudishachu - nishpashi nin misica.

Ovejitaca yarcagpica ni micunata mana tarishca. Chashna misirucua rin nin aparirashca shug huanchaca, ima shina nin, huahua huanchaca nishun, mama huanchaca huahuata ina shinami aparin chai cuenta huaiyurirashca. Rinalla nin rinalla nin rinalla nin. Ña tutayana nin maipicharicarupi. Carupi cagpica juin yarcái japina nin animal huahuapish. Ña ovejitaca ninshi: - Yarcagrinni, ¿ima tucusha misi? - nishpashi nin. - Ñuca ¿ima ruhuashari? Chaipa ñuca condicional cani, ñucaca yarcagpica mana carashachu. Ñucaca micunata charishami: shutacuna nin, conejocuna nin.

Paica aicha puro micush ricun nin misica. Ovejitaca maita imatata micunga ni chashna, pobre animal. Paica tucui laya micush ricushpaca cushilla ricun nin. Ovejitamancia shug cayandi quimsa semana shug puri ñampica ña taririn semejante qu'ihua. Cutin misimancia ni ima. Chashnashi rina pobre animalitoca juin, llaqui huacai cai shug ni chai shug. Shina rishpashi cutin ña rinalla nin rinalla nin, casi cutin shug quimsa semana largo. Chashnashi largarina pobre animalca.

Shina rishpami semejante shug selva montaña shug leopardo, culebras, animales, semejante viboras montañaman yaicuna nin cunan misihuan ovejahuanca. Chaiman chayashpa shug semejante viga chaquiman, shug pura, mana ña punzha mana avanzan nin. Ultimo chaqui pagtashca rishca. Chaipimi ña nina nin: - Cunanca peligromi canchi. Cai mundo montañapica jiru animalcuna uyarcun. Cunanca ¿ima shina tucushun? Uvinchu jahua yura ñahuiman huichacushun - nishpashi nin misica -, pero canca ¿ima shinata huichacui pudingui? Ñuca aparisha - nishpashi nin. - Pero can mana valica imata pudingui ñuca llashagtaca - nishpashi nin ovejata.

Cutin misica: - Mana - nishpashi nin.

Pues aparishcami canga 'aparishallami' nishpa. Chai huichacui callarin

nin shug semejante vigón altota juin.

Chaita huichaicushpaca shinapish rinshi jahua chugpi huichaicama aspirish aspirish, ima shinapish jatun llashag ovejata aparishca. 'Paj' ña vuelta nin yura ucupi, ucu sapiman. Quimsa huichaicupica ña lomo tullu casi nanachishca nin. Chaipica nishca nin: - Can mana vali challashca mana valinguichu. Mejor saqui. Mejor ñuca caipi ima shinashi pacarishallmi.

- Y más bien ñuca huichaicusha, ñuca juhua yramanta chapashallami. Maipi ima animal maipi ima uyarigpica ñuca shungusha - nin misica. Ovejitaca nishpashi nin: - Mejor shina cagpica ñuca ima shinapish ima animal micushcapish, cailla pacarishallami. Canllata rilla mai jahuapi rilla sirish pacarigri.

Chaimantashi huichaicushpa jahua ultimo ñahui, shug montaña ultimo, chai ñahui puntaman huichaicushpashi chapam rucu misica. - Cunanca cashna pacarishun imacha pasan ñuca ovejitaca - nishpashi, llaqui huacai ni cai shug ni chai shug.

Shinashpashi ña pacarina. Cunan cai gloriamuna mai shina gallo cantai maicha shina, picharica, shug semejante luz jaganicun nin. Maicha shug distante shug cinco kilometros shina pichariari, largo. Chaipica juin jaganicun nin, jaganicun nin, jaganicun nin. Cutin jaganicun nin, cutin huanucun nin shug luz semaforo cuenta. Chaimantashi ña shinapish ñacayandi gloria gloriata shitarina ña.

Misirucuca shinapish aspirish aspirish uraiman. Chaipishi: - Ovejitaca - nina nin -, ovejita, ovejita - nishpashi -, imaipita cangui?

Manashi respondinchu ovejitaca. Ura sapi cuchupi siricushpa allpazitu nin, uraicushpa umamanta chugtagpi rigcharishca. - Mana yuyanichu - nishpashi nin ovejitaca -, maipi sirishpa pacarimungui? Ñuca casimi huanuni.

- Ñucami ashun casi huanumuni chiripi. Jahuapi semejante chirimi cashca. ¿Manchu ima uyarin cambia rinripica? - nishpashi nishca misica ovejitaca.

- Mana - nishca nin -, ñucamanea sumagta sumag Diosca pushash pacarin.

- Pero ñucaca shug sumaimana pueblotami ricumuni. Cunanca chaiman rishun, jacu - nishpashi nin.

Shinashpaca risheca nin, uraicushpa igual huillanacushpa ishcaita tiyash huacacushpacunallata llaquilla.

Shug semejante yacu jundashcapi taririshca nin. Chaipica ima tucun, casi tucuna nin paicunaca. Nishca nin: - Mana. Huanuna causana, ñuca aparisha. Canca alli huaiyuringui - cunan ovejitaca misitaca.

Y shinashpaca ña rin nin, rin nin, rin nin, yacupi yaicushpa chugpicama semejante yacu jundapi yaicushca. Pues yacu aparishca maicha semejante shug treinta metros largotacha aparishca uraiman, ucuyan jahuayan.

Shug semejante timbucug jundupi shitasheca nin remolinopi. Chaita huecopa shitagpimi paizitu ucuyan jahuayan ña ovejandi misindi taririshca chaipi. Chai shug cuhu molinoman shitagpimi cutin cai misisituca nishca nin: - Ama penarichu, ñuca por fin safarinimi.

Uma caramanta charirashca ovejitaca yacu ama aparichun. Shinashpa jahua pataman huichaicushpacari nishca nin: - Maquita cui.

O sino mana cashpaca entonces ishcai rinrimanta japish huichaiman chutashca ovejitaca. Yacu shug golpe junda shamushca cutin huichaiman remolinashpami huichaiman shitasheca. Misizitu chaita ña aisashpa llugchishca. Tranquilomi chaipi ña paicunaca. - Cunancarl otro caminada ruhuashun. Shinashpaca rishun maipimi lуста ricureani. Chaiman paragta rishun - nishpashi nin.

Shinashpami ña chayashca nin chai maipi cashpapiish haciendamana, Encantado hacienda cashca nin chaica, diablocunapa, Chaipi chayashca nin. Ucupi yaicushcacuna nin, Misimanca taririshca nin aichallaca nin, ima quesollaca nin, ima maravillas micuna, misipa micuna, Ovejaman semejante potrero, maravillas, cosa que mashna pudig pamba ovejitamaca. Shinashpa ña: - Pica dueñoca shamungami, shamungami, shamungami - nish paicunaca tiyacuna nin tranquilo ucupica posangapa, mañangapa -, tiyacunchi, como chaqui pagtashcata shamurcanchi, cunanca caipica causaita japishun - nishpa.

Shinashpashi ña tiyacugpica casi chishi amsayashcalla shinataca: - Ñaca ima shinami parlacugta uyarcani.

Chai layallataca imachari bullacunashi shamun maitachari caruta. Chaicuna shamushpaca ima alli personacuna shamuncuna, diablocuna shamucushca nin. Chaica dueño capataz yaicushca nin ucuman. Jatun semejante mesarucushi tiyacun, shug salón cuenta ucupica. Chaipica shug librocunaca, tucui laya libro nin, shinallata, shug yurag librolashi mana ricurin. Tucui libroschi ricuricun. Shug jatun semejante código laya librotaca ricucun nin, ricucun nin, ricucun nin chai jatun yaya capatazca.

Cutin cai shug ñutu tentacioncunaca shamushpaca: - Ima canca, imatata ruhuash shamungui? ¿Mai imatata ruhuachishpa shamungui, maipi? ¿Ima ushindi yayandi paltachimungui? ¿Ima yacutachu jarcamungui? O ¿uyag mana uyagtachu ruhuachimungui? ¿Ima imatata canca ruhuachimungui? Shug chayan nin, shug chayan nin. Lecciontashi cuocuna imanapish ñutu tentacioncunaca jatun yaya tentacionman. Shinashpashi ña unai unai-llapica ña cutin chayamuna nin shug suchu. Chaishi shayacunlla nin, shayacunlla nin juin. Ima tucunata mana valin, singlarucu allagayacun caiman chaiman; shug e'uchi singashi chaica. (Asisha ñucapish cutin!) Chaica shinaca ña chashna cacugllapitami ovejitacunaca ñashi huasi jahuapi cana. Shinallata ima shinami cunan montañapi tucui urmashcacuna chai layallata. Chaipipish teja huasiman huichacushcacuna nin, Shinallata aspirishpa ima shinapish avanzachishca misica ovejitata altoyachinata. Jahu alto chugpi cumbapica cai ovejitaca meanai japishca ña.

Meanai japigpica imata nishca nin cai shug compañerocuna, misisituca nishca nin: - Alli alli meash huichacunguimanca rabiatapish cun - nishpashi nishca misica.

- ¿Ima tucusha? Meanayagrín - nishpaca juinshi loco apana ovejitaca. Mana forma cashpaca cai tuqui lastimacunata ucupi ricucushpaca, ima shinachari cutin siquita cuyuchishca nin ovejitaca mearingapa. Teja ima shinachari paquirishca nin, chaglla ismushca cashca nin. Chai dueño tentacionpa chugpi mesapitaca imachari meado shutushca nin uraiman. Chai shutugpica cai shug ullahuangacunaca ucumantaca juinshi caita chaíta chapacun. Imata jahuataca manashi ricui valinchu pero. Tucui paicunapura ucu pachata ricunacucuna nin chai lastima mesataca. Tucui abrigash qu'ipa pero. Cungaillaca nishca nin chai jahuapica 'trajtrajlla' 'trajtrajlla'. Huanu ña juin shutui callrishca ovejitapaca ña. Tucui chai muritucunaca ñashi chai librocunataca manchash pasarín. Chai cungailla jahuamantaca misindi ovejandishi huacuyana 'taraglla' jahuamantaca: teja, chaglla, allpa, tucui chai tentacion chugpi libro jatun capataz ñumpapita.

Chaipicari 'tugrig' nishpa ovejitaca. 'Tugrig' ningacamanca ima tiempo 'ba' llugshirishca nin. Misica cai shug chai shugta 'pis' nishpa, ñahui murucunapi tucui arañashpa allaba nin cai shug chai shugta, Allaba diablocuna nin canshataca nin polvoyash, Chaimantaca rishcacuna

nin caruta ña shitash jichushpa chai ovejitacunata. Ovejahuan cunan cai misihuanca dueñoyash saquirin nin cai encantado haciendataca. Ahecata rishpacunaca shug huishtuca ninshi: - Chai ishca challashcacuna ñucanchita callpachinga. Bai jacu shungusha - nishpashi nin -, ñucami yachani, jacu.

Chai jatun yaya capatazca nishca nin: - Mana. Ima cashpapish, ñucata ñahui murupimi cai mundota shug shutuimi, ñahuitaca raurachirca. Cutin chai shug uchillaca ñahuiipimi aspiroca. Mana acertanichu imami tucushun. Jacullata más bien. Shitashpa paicuna chaipi siricuchun - nishpashi nin. Cutin huishtuca nishpashi nin: - Mana. Cutishunillata jacu - nishpashi nin.

Chaipi ovejaca cutin llugshishca nin 'ba' nirashca nin haciendamantaca. - Mana - nishca nin -, vamos - nishpami nicun nin.

Cutin cai shug animalca nicunmi 'pish' nicunmi, 'pish' nicunmi, 'pish' nicunmi. Chaitacha cazusha nicuncunami. Allaba nin otra carrera cutin cai tentacioncunaca. Paicunapish chaipi dueño saquirin nin, Misimanca semejante maravilla micuna y cutin ovejaman semejante hacienda potrero. Hacienda propio ñaencantadata ganan misihuan ovejahuan.

The cat and the sheep

There was once a very greedy cat. Neither mice nor rats could satisfy its greed. When he had cleaned out his own house of food and could find no more to swallow, he began to take his neighbours' guinea-pigs, curded cheese and any titbits there were from their kitchens, so greedy was he. One day, then, he was out walking. There was a sheep standing by, likewise with nothing to eat. He was tied up, his stomach empty, on a barren plain. The cat came by surreptitiously and said: "What on earth are you doing standing here? There's no point in your standing here. Come on, it's easy, let's go off somewhere."

The sheep replied: "How can I go when I'm tied up like this? My owners never come by, I spend all night here. I'm near to dying of hunger and cold."

"I too am about to die of hunger just like you. I've finished all the food in the house; there is no more for me to eat anywhere. Once and for all, let's go. Let the devil take us," urged the cat.

So they told each other their tales, the two of them. And the cat said: "Come on, let's go."

"How can I go?" said the sheep.

At his words, the cat said: "Oh, it's easy."

"Ah, nonsense," said the other.

"Don't tell me 'nonsense'. I shall scratch around the stake and break through the rope, and off we go. We shall be far away by the time your owners or anyone else comes along. But I make one condition: that whenever you feel hungry, whether night be falling, whether it be getting dark, whether it be a full moon, or whatever be the situation, wherever we be, I shall eat my food but I shall not be able to give food to you."

So when the sheep was hungry he could find no food. The old cat went along carried all the while (by the sheep), hanging on all the time and carried in the way a female opossum carries her young. They journeyed far. They were far off, who knows where, when night fell. As they were there, far from home, they began to feel very hungry. Then the sheep said: "What will become of me, cat? I feel hungry." And the cat replied: "What can I do about it? That's why I made the condition that when you were hungry I wouldn't give you any food. I shall have my food: *shuta* birds and rabbits."

For the cat ate only meat along the way. Thus the sheep must have gone with no food, poor animal. But the cat went along happily eating all kinds of things. Then after three weeks there appeared by the roadside a great patch of grass for the sheep. And this time there was nothing for the cat. So the poor animals went along, both crying unhappily. Thus they went on, walking and walking for three long weeks more. That is how they went away

As they went they came to a forest inhabited by leopards, snakes, vipers and other wild animals. The cat and the sheep went into this forest. As they did so, they arrived at the foot of some great tall trees, and there all was in darkness, the light of day could not penetrate the trees. They walked on as far as they could. Then the cat said: "Here we are in danger. There are wild animals to be heard in this vast forest. How will we fare? Perhaps we should climb to the top of a tall tree. But how will you be able to climb it? I shall carry you." "But you won't be able to carry my weight," said the sheep. But the cat ignored him and determined to carry the sheep into the tree. They began to climb a very tall tree.

They climbed thus until they reached the halfway mark, the cat scratching and clawing as best he could, carrying the big heavy sheep. Then 'thump' they landed again at the foot of the tree. After three attempts at the climb, the cat's back began to ache somewhat. Then the sheep said: "You're a little weakling, you won't be able to manage this. Let's leave it. I'll just sleep somehow down here." "But I had better go up. From the top of the tree I shall keep watch and warn you if any animal makes a noise," said the cat. "Even if that happens, I'll somehow spend the night just here. You yourself go up to the tree-top and lie there for the night," replied the sheep.

Then the old cat climbed way up to the topmost branches of the tree and set watch. "Now we'll spend the night like this happen what may." And the two of them wept unhappily. In this way the night passed and dawn broke. At cockcrow a light was seen burning. Who on earth could it be? It was some five kilometres distant. It burned brightly then died away, then burned brightly again, like the flashing of a beacon. Thus dawn broke and light fell from the sky.

So the old cat scratched and clawed his way down the tree. When he reached the bottom, he called out for the sheep: "Sheep! sheep! where are you?"

The sheep made no reply. He had burrowed himself into the earth at the foot of the tree and was lying there. When the cat tugged him by the head, he woke up. "What's going on?" he asked, "where have you slept the night? I nearly died."

"I came nearer to dying of cold. Up there it was very cold. Did your ears detect no sound in the night?" the cat asked the sheep.

"No," said he, "God was with me through a very peaceful night."

"Well, I have just seen a beautiful town in the distance. Let's go there now, come on," said the cat.

And so they went, making their way downwards, relating to each other the events of the night and still crying pitifully.

Then a great deep river appeared before them. What happened then? It was nearly the end of them. But the sheep said to the cat: "Well, if we live or die, I shall carry you. You hold on tightly."

And so they made their way half way across the deep river. Then the

water carried them away some thirty metres downstream, dragging them down then lifting them up on its waves. It cast them into a deep whirlpool of churning water. There the cat and the sheep found themselves together; tossing about in a whirlpool. As this happened, the cat called out: "Don't worry, I'll get out of here."

And he held on to the sheep's head by its fleece so that the water shouldn't carry him away. So the cat, managing to climb up onto the riverbank, said to the sheep: "Give me your hand."

Or if that wasn't the case then he pulled the sheep up by his two ears. At that moment a gush of water swirled around the sheep and threw him up towards the bank. And the cat got him out by pulling him. So there they were safe and sound. "Now we have another walk to do. Let's go to the place where I saw the light shining. We'll stop there."

So thus they arrived at a *hacienda*, who knows where. It was a bewitched *hacienda*, belonging to the devils. They arrived there and went inside. For the cat was to be found all kinds of marvellous foods, meats and cheeses. For the sheep there was rich pasture, as much as he could eat. Expecting the owners to arrive at any moment, they stayed there happily waiting to ask for food and lodging. "Let's stay here. We have come as far as our legs will carry us, now let's seek our living here," they said.

As they sat there night began to fall, and one of them spoke: "I heard voices just now."

Then what dreadful noise was heard approaching somewhere in the distance. The devils were coming. Then the chief of the devils came inside. There was an enormous table inside a spacious room. On it there were books of all types: only a white-coloured book was lacking. All sorts of books were to be seen. That chief old-man devil was looking intently at a big book, like a book of law.

Then the minor devils were coming in. "You, what work have you done?" the chief asked, "what sins have you caused? Which father and daughter did you cause to sin? What water course have you blocked up? What temptation have you led people into?"

Another devil arrived, then another. The minor devils were giving their reports to the chief devil. So it went on for a long while. Then there arrived a crippled devil. He just stood there for a long time. He couldn't do anything but root here and there with his long pig-like nose. (Now I'm going to laugh!) But no, in spite of the devils' being there, the sheep and cat were already up on the roof-top. They were to slip down just as they had fallen from the tree. There they climbed too, up onto the tiled roof. In the same way, using his claws, the cat was able to hoist the sheep up with him. When they were up on the ridge of the roof, the sheep felt the need to urinate.

When this happened, the cat said: "You should have urinated before you began the climb. That makes me angry."

"What shall I do?" said the sheep anxiously, "I need to urinate."

And the sheep, lacking courage at the sight of the devils inside, wagged his tail and urinated. The tiles of the roof were broken and the thatch was rotten, so the urine dripped down right onto the chief devil's table. When they saw the drips, some of the other demons came out and looked here and there. But how were they going to see up onto the roof? Between them everyone was intent inside on looking at the damage done to the table (after the questions had been asked and noted, of course). Unseen, the pair above began to make a clattering noise and this time the sheep began to defecate. All its droppings fell and stained the devils' books. Unseen, the cat and sheep together made a hole in the roof and through it fell tiles, thatch and earth with a crash, all onto the demons' book, right in front of the chief devil,

Then indeed the sheep made more noise to frighten the devils. While he was doing that, the cat scratched their eyes out one after the other and put them each to flight. The devils fled outside shaken with fear. They went far away leaving behind the sheep and the cat. These two together remained behind as masters of the enchanted *hacienda*. When they had gone a long way off, the crippled demon said: "Those two rascals chased us out. Come on, I'm going to investigate." The chief devil said: "No, whatever may be the case, a lot of urine fell into my eyes and made them burn. Then that other little one scratched my face. I don't know what shall become of us. We'd better just go and leave them to lie there."

"No," said the cripple, "let's go right back."

Then the sheep came out of the *hacienda* still bleating. "No," said the devils, "let's go."

The other animal hissed at them, and perhaps they took notice of that, for again the devils took to their heels and ran. So the animals remained as masters of the *hacienda*. There was plenty of wonderful food for the cat and a big grazing field for the sheep. So the cat and the sheep gained their own enchanted *hacienda*.

Informant: EG, 15th June, 1976

as for Tale 10, plus:

cf. A-T 130 The animals in night quarters (Bremen City Musicians)

B296 Animals go a-journeying

N776 Light seen from tree lodging place by night leads to adventure

G303.4.1.4.1 Devil has a long nose

G303.16.19.17 Devil disappears because he is frightened

Group (iii)

Tale 14: *Diablohuan contratadoca*

Chai ejemplo callarin ña: runa pöbre cashca, chaimanta chayugyashca, cucoman valirishca. Chaimanta cucoca cullquita cushca. Cuco cullquita cushcachuan chayugyashca. Chayugyashca qu'ipa ña unai huatata causashca. Chaimanta ña plazo faltan. Ña penarishca runaca: mana micush nishca, mana uviash nishca, mana trago uviash nishca. Chaimanta huarmi tapushca: - ¿Imamantata canca llaquiringui? ¿Ima mana faltan? ¿Ima mana illan? Chayug canchi, ¿imamantata penaringui? Chapi runa nishca: - Cashna chashnami ña ñuca llugheircani cucoman cai tal plazopa. Ña chai plazo chayamunmi cunanca. Tal punshami apag shamunga ñucataca.

Chaimanta rishca conversaringapa, rishca sacerdotepaman huarmica. Sacerdote nishca: - Caita ruhuai: quimsami shamunga apangapa. Cunanca entregai carata yuragyachichun quintal jabonhuan. Shugmanca entregai shug machetehuan trozo caspihuan cruzta ruhuachun potenciahuan. Shugmanca entregachun shug tinajahuan cedazohuan yacuta ashtachun, yacuta jundachichun. Entre las nueve de la nochetá apag shamushca. Huarmica taita cura sacerdote ña yuyaita cushcataca ruhuaraca. Ña tareata curca cadaunoman. Shugman entregarca machete, shugman entregarca yana cara quintal jabon, shugman entregarca cedazohuan tinajahuan. Chaimanta trabajota ña callarircacuna. Trabajota nish shug mana cumplirca, mana ajustarcachu nish shug trabajotaca.

Chaimanta ña una de la mañana yana gallo cantareca. Chaimanta tapunacurca: - ¿Siquiera maijan tareata wahuanquichi? - nirca shugca. Chaimanta shugca nirca: - Ñuca mana yacuta jundachi valini - nish. Shugca nirca: - Ñuca mana cruzta potencia ruhuai valinichu. P'aquirish c'atirca.

Shugca nirca: - Cara mana yuragyasha ninichu - nirca shugca -, pedazo tucurca.

Chaimanta: - ¿Imata tucunchi? - nirca shugca.

Chaimanta chaipi nirca: - Tuta tiyanragmi. Trabajash c'atishun.

Nirca shugca: - Manara cantanchu - nirca.

Chaimanta ña ishcai gallo cantareca ña, uchupa gallo cantareca. Chaipi ña cutin tapunacuna: - ¿Siquiera can tinajapi yacuta jundachinguichu? - nirca.

Chaipi nirca: - Mana, mana junda tinajapi yacu - nirca.

Chaipi shug cruzta ruhuadorta tapurca: - ¿Can cruzta ruhuai valinguichu? ¿Siquiera can?

- Mana, mana ruhuai valinichu. P'aquirishpami c'atin.

Chaimanta tapunacurca cutin, ña carata yuragyachigtami nirca:

- ¿Siquiera can carata yuragyachircanguichu?

Nirca: - Ñuca mana yuragyachi valircanichu - nin -, carata tucui ashun pedazo tucurca.

Tercero taita Diospa gallo cantareca, mishicu gallo. Puca gallo cantareca, - Ña mana ñucanchi gallochu, ña punzhayagrimmi.

Chaipimi ña ultimo cantan ña. - Mana pudinchichu, ñuca mana carata yuragyachi valini - nin.

- Ñuca mana valini potencia ruhuanata.

- Ñuca mana yacu tinajata jundachinichu.

Shinaca: - Shitarishunlla.

Shina nicugpi gallo cantara, chaimanta shitarircacuna ña atish punzhayagrigpi, mana valish.

Cedulata huarmiman ña cutichish chaipi ña punzhayagpi runataca huarmica ña rig consolangapa nirca. Taita curapapi chaipi ña entoncesca. Taita curaca c'ayarca, runata c'ayamugri nishca. Chaipi entonces runaca ña nirca. Chaipi taita curaca conjurareca. Conjurash qu'ipa nirca chai chayugyashcata: - Chai cullquitaca chugpitaca pobrecunaman regalai, chugpitaca can saquiri. Shinashpami salvaringui. Chaipi tucurin.

The man who had a pact with the devil

This story is about a poor man who tricked the devil and became rich. The devil gave him money, but only for the space of one year. As the year drew to an end the man grew very sad: he lost his appetite, he didn't want to eat or drink. His wife asked him: "Why are you so sad? What do we lack? We are rich, you have no reason to be sad." So her husband explained that he had entered into a pact with the devil and soon his time would be up. Then the devil would come and carry him away.

On hearing this, the wife went to the priest to confess and ask advice. The priest told her that three devils would come and she was to do as follows: to one of them she should give a black cowhide and a sack of soap and tell him to turn the hide white. To another she should give some logs of wood and a *machete*, telling him to make a crucifix adorned with religious motifs. And the third she should order to fill an earthenware urn with water using a sieve. Well, that night at about 9 o'clock the devils came. The woman did as the priest had told her: she gave each of them a task. To one she gave a *machete*; to another

a black hide and some soap; to another a sieve and an urn. Then they all three set to work. But none of them were to complete their task,

At 1 o'clock in the morning the black cockerel crowed. At this, they asked each other: "Have you at least finished your task?" One of them replied: "I cannot fill this urn with water using a sieve." Said another: "I can't make a crucifix with religious emblems. The wood keeps breaking in my hands." "I'm not succeeding in whitening this hide," said the third, "it falls apart when I touch it." "So, what shall we do?" said one. "It's still night, let's keep working. The *gallo mishicu* hasn't crowed yet."

A little later the second cock crowed, the ash-coloured one. Again the devils asked after each other's progress: "You at least must have filled the urn with water," they said.

"No, it isn't nearly full," came the reply.

So they asked the one who was making the cross: "Have you at least finished the cross?"

"No," came the reply, "I can't do it. The wood keeps snapping."

And they asked the one who was whitening the cowhide: "Have you whitened that hide yet?"

"I can't whiten it. It keeps falling apart in my hands."

Then the third cockerel crowed: the coloured cockerel that they say belongs to God. "That isn't our rooster crowing," said the devils, "daylight is coming."

And the last cockcrow before dawn was heard. "We can't complete our tasks," they said.

"I can't whiten this hide."

"I can't carve out the religious emblems."

"I can't fill the urn."

So they decided to abandon the attempt. As they spoke they heard the cock still crowing. And so they were overcome by the daylight and forced to leave.

So now the wife had her identity card restored to her. Daylight came and she went to comfort her husband who had been called to the priest's house. There the priest cast a spell. After casting the spell, he turned to the rich man and told him to give half his riches to the poor and to keep the other half for himself. In that way he would be saved. There my story ends.

Informant: AB, 4th August, 1976

| | |
|--------------|---|
| M211 | Person sell soul to devil |
| G303.16.19.3 | One is freed if he can set a task the devil cannot perform |
| K211 | Devil cheated by imposing an impossible task |
| H1023.2 | Task: carrying water in a sieve |
| H1023.6 | Task: washing black wool white |
| G303.16.3.1 | Devils driven away by cross |
| Z65.2 | Series: white cock, red cock, black cock. These crow at dawn and scatter ghosts |
| A1751 | The devil's animals and God's |
| G303.17.1.1 | Devil disappears when cock crows |
| N846.2 | Priest as helper |
| G303.16.14 | Devil exorcised |

Commentary

1.0 Introduction

These narratives are mostly legends founded upon local folk beliefs concerning the attributes, habitat and behaviour of the devil as he is popularly conceived of. In the analysis I shall deal again first with the narrative pattern of the texts and discuss to what extent this can be said to be a common one to them all. Then the structure of the texts will be examined in terms of the relationships that are set up during the course of each one between hero and devil. Into this relationship there usually enters a third party who acts as mediator and brings about an apparent resolution. These tales, as the others in this section, are seen as expressions of the conflict between man and the non-human world, and the devil will be seen to be as ambiguous a representative of that world as any other of the dramatis personae to fill that 'slot' elsewhere in the section. There will follow an analysis of the legends' content and the relationship this has to the wider context of the belief system,

2.0 Narrative structure

While all the legends have in common that they recount the meeting and relationship between human hero and devil(s), they have been divided into three groups according to the narrative pattern they follow:

- Group (i) tales in which hero encounters devil whilst on a journey
- Group (ii) tales in which hero encounters devils in deserted house and overhears a meeting between them
- Group (iii) tales in which hero makes a pact with the devil

Of the three patterns, the first two are by far the most common; several factors suggest that they are patterns traditional to and perhaps oicotypical of the area: they depict the devil as an ambiguous personality,

beneficent or maleficent according to circumstance. They are also patterns that extend beyond the confines of this sub-type, and may be traced in tales of other sub-types also. That is to say, they are deep-rooted enough to have had effect on other areas of narrative tradition. Group (iii), on the other hand, doesn't follow the requisite pattern of Journey→Encounter→Arrival at other world, etc. of the type this section represents, and its theme is the familiar Faustian one, with the devil cast in his traditional European rôle.

2.1 Group (i): Encounters with devil whilst on a journey

2.1.1 General observations

Some general observations can be made about these as a group, before looking at them individually. The journey is usually given a specific local setting, such as the road from Cañar to Cuenca, a well-frequented trade route which presented many hazards to the traveller in the still-remembered days before mechanized transport. The route passes through some precipitous terrain, uninhabited and largely uncultivated as the drop of some 500 metres is made to the Azogues valley; the scene for the encounters is invariably some steep-sided ravine (*huaicu/quebrada*), and may be identified more precisely as Peruncay, near Biblián, for example.

The linear development of these narratives provides a framework within which the hero sets out on a journey, encounters a non-human agent, and arrives at the other world. Whether or not he/she returns safely home is a variable depending upon whether or not the relationship established with the non-human agent is a positive or a negative one. Where a mediator intervenes, that rôle may be played by an outside party, such as the personified cross in Tale 4. Alternatively, the structure of the tale provides for the appearance of a

mediator by what I term a 'split hero' function. In such a case, there are two human protagonists (H1 and H2), rather than one, who at the start of the narrative are on equal footing in terms of function but who, as the tale progresses, come to adopt structurally opposite but complementary rôles, the one then acting as mediator on behalf of the other. This occurs in Tales 5,6,and 7. A parallel device is that of the 'split villain' function, as in Tale 8 where the devil first encountered by the hero protects him from a group of devils encountered at a later stage in the narrative.

It will be seen that no one value may be assigned to the devil: he may act positively or negatively with regard to the hero, and may be found in one tale to adopt different attitudes to different human , protagonists. He may punish one while helping another. Sometimes the text makes it clear that the helper rôle is adopted towards those who are free of sin, whereas those who have infringed the moral code are punished. Elsewhere the moral standing of the hero is implicit only.

2.1.2 Tale 4

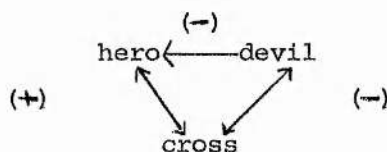
| Tale 4: <i>La lucha entre la cruz y el diablo</i> | | | |
|---|---------|--|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | H unconscious after road accident; has always worshipped cross | 1 |
| | i | H wanders through ravine | 2 |
| | ii | H meets personified cross | 3 |
| | iii | cross tells H to accompany him | 4 |
| II | iv | H encounters devil | 3 |
| | v | devil tells H to accompany him | 4 |
| | vi | cross intervenes, devil overcome | 6/9a |
| III | vii | H meets group of devils | 3 |
| | viii | cross fights devils to protect H | 6 |
| | ix | cross overcomes all devils | 9a |
| IV | x | H and cross continue journey | 2 |
| | xi | they meet tall cross ('Taita Diosito') | 3 |
| | xii | tall cross grants H permission to see into hell | 4 |
| | xiii | smaller cross accompanies H to entrance to hell | 7 |
| | xiv | H takes messages from dead for living | 8 |
| V | xv | cross accompanies H back again | 4 |
| | xvi | H recovers and finds was 'away' 15 days | 9d |

With regard to the linear progression of Tale 4, it concurs with the general description given above, the initial situation being of special note: the vulnerability of the hero, which leads to the encounter, is provided for by his entering an altered state of consciousness after a road accident. This is not an unusual device in narratives dealing with supernatural encounters, and is mentioned further in sub-section (c).

The paradigmatic structure can be described firstly by looking more closely at the system of relationships set up between the actors. Each of these: hero, devil, and cross, represents a different sphere, which could be termed for the sake of argument: this world, hell, and heaven respectively. This could be expressed formally as follows:

hero : earth :: devil : hell :: cross : heaven

The relationship in Move I between hero and cross is a positive one of mutual reciprocity, the hero's former worship of the cross merits him the latter's protection. Into this initial harmony steps a disruptive force: the devil, who adopts a threatening attitude towards the hero. The cross then mediates on the hero's behalf and a triangular set of relationships evolves which could be formalized in the triad:



This situation lasts for Moves II & III, which are structural repetitions of each other. By Move IV, harmony has been restored, the hero is allowed a glimpse into hell, and then returns to this world in the final move. Thus the sequence I described as common to the tales has been followed through. As far as the inner coherence of the tale is concerned: Move I, in which the hero encounters the mediator, may be seen as a structural inversion of Move V, in which the same mediator guides him home. Moves II & III, as stated are structurally repetitive,

and may together be placed in structural opposition to Move IV, where the encounter with 'Taita Diosito' has positive connotations in contrast to the encounter with the devils which was negative. The inner coherence of the tale could then be expressed thus:

$$\text{Move I} : \text{Move V} :: \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Move II} \\ \text{Move III} \end{array} \right\} : \text{Move IV}$$

It is hoped that the above interpretation of the tale's structure will contribute to an eventual overall view of this group of tales as having much in common in the narrative pattern they follow.

2.1.3. Tale 5

| Tale 5: <i>Ishcai mozocuna</i> | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------|---|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | two friends (H1&H2) bathe in river; H1 drowns, H2 survives | 1 |
| | i | H2 wanders, playing fiddle | 2 |
| | ii | meets <i>amo</i> who invites him to home | 3 |
| II | iii | arrive at <i>hacienda</i> (hell) | 7 |
| | iv | H2 finds H1 punished in hell | |
| | v | H1 gives H2 advice on how to protect himself against <i>amo</i> (devil) | 6 |
| III | vi | devil brings family, H2 plays fiddle | 4 |
| | vii | H2 asks for payment in ash as advised | 6 |
| | viii | devil overcome | 9a |
| IV | ix | H2 returns home | 9d |

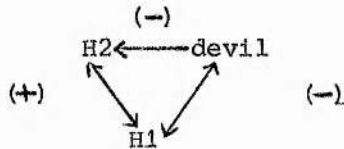
The narrative pattern of this tale closely resembles that of Tale 22 and the comparative text GS/CA/18 (sub-section (e)). They all three trace the fates of two brothers or friends, one of whom dies and is followed to the other world by the other. In the case of Tale 22, the one to die (H1), is wedded in death to the *ullachu* bird, and it will be suggested that in many ways the devil and the buzzard fill similar structural 'slots' in oral narrative.

Tale 5 contains an example of the 'split hero' feature described above. In the initial situation, the two friends are on an equal footing as far as their function is concerned; both are human,

and represent this world. When death comes to one of them, their friendship does not cease, but now consigned to the respective spheres of this world and the other world, life and death, their relationship becomes one of complementary opposition. This could be expressed thus:

H1 : H2 :: other world : this world :: death : life

This prior differentiation between the two heroes may be necessary in order for H1 to shift rôles to that of mediator on H2's behalf when the latter is threatened by the devil. Balance is disrupted when the latter appears, and the actors adopt the following attitudes in relation to one another:



As with Tale 4, the position of mediator entails the most complex attitudes: he is in both a positive reciprocal relationship with H2 (as former friend and present helper), and a reciprocally negative relationship with the devil (being at once his victim and an effective opposition to him on H2's behalf). The triad is an exact reproduction of that set up for Tale 4, helping us to see the similarities in structure between the two tales. Like Tale 4 also, this tale follows the described linear sequence of events: pivoting around the supernatural encounter and subsequent journey to hell, and ending in hero's safe return. In Tale 4, the main focus was on the journey itself, during which threatening encounters occurred not once but twice, for greater narrative emphasis. In Tale 5, however, the greater focus is on the events after arrival at other world, and the means by which H2 makes his escape.

In paradigmatic terms, the structure of the tale may be described thus: Move I, telling of the encounter which leads to the visit to hell, and Move IV, of the hero's return, may be seen as structural

inversions of each other. The two intervening moves; II and III, are in a complementary relationship to each other - Move II in which H1 advises H2, and Move III in which this advice is successfully followed. This complementarity of structure reflects the mutual reciprocity that exists between the two friends. The moves could be arranged formally:

Move I : Move IV :: Move II : Move III

A pattern begins to emerge whereby the first and last moves can be seen in inverse relation one to the other and, whilst some variation occurs, there is an equally complementary relationship between the moves that intervene between the first and the last.

2.1.4 Tale 6

| Tale 6: <i>Ishcai noviata charigmanta</i> | | | |
|---|---------|---|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | married man (H1) deserts wife for former sweetheart (H2) | 1 |
| | i | they set out on journey together | 2 |
| | ii | they pass a cross by wayside to which H1 prays, H2 does not | 3/4 |
| II | iii | meet <i>amo</i> who invites them to home | 3/4 |
| | iv | arrive at <i>hacienda</i> | 7 |
| III | v | cross reappears | 3 |
| | vi | cross pushes H2 into <i>hacienda</i> (hell) | 6/9b |
| | vii | cross pulls H1 clear | 6/9a |

The tale follows the linear sequence of all tales in the group. In this case, greater focus is given to the initial situation, which sets the tone for the ensuing events and offers an explanation of them. H2's persuasive wiles are dramatized, while H1's weakness of character is made clear, to account for his subsequent pardon.

The tale contains structural features which to some extent combine elements of Tales 4 and 5. The mediator is a cross, so we have symbolic interaction between the three spheres as in Tale 4. There is a 'split hero' function as in Tale 5. However, the hero and

heroine of Tale 6 are not in the same relationship to each other as were H1 and H2 in Tale 5: there, we saw a reciprocity which accounted for H1's shift in rôle to that of mediator. Here, there is a would-be reciprocity - between man and lover - which is rendered impossible, so it would seem, (a) by the adultery upon which their relationship is based, and (b) by H2's impiety in contrast to the remorse and piety of H1. Thus the two hero figures are considered oppositions of each other, and this opposition could be expressed in the following terms:

| | | |
|---------------------|---|--------------------|
| H1 | : | H2 |
| passively persuaded | : | actively persuades |
| remorse | : | lack of remorse |
| piety | : | impiety |
| salvation | : | damnation |

Both are then threatened by the devil, and the cross mediates on their behalf. However, this mediation is measured against the moral standing of the hero in question: for H1 it has a positive outcome, for H1 it is negative. Because of the opposition between them, the relationships of H1 and H2 with devil and mediator must be viewed separately from the standpoint of each:



It will be noticed that while triad (a) for H1 corresponds exactly to that set up for Tales 4 and 5, where the hero is also saved due to his moral worth (explicit or implicit), triad (b) has some interesting variation. Here, because the heroine merits damnation, the cross's attitude towards her is negative, whilst the assistance he gives the devil in consigning her to hell can be read as a rare example of a positive attitude between these two actors. The correspondance between triad (a) and those for Tales 4 and 5 is an indication that a common pattern is emerging in the types of relationship described in these legends, and the value attached to them.

The terms in which the paradigmatic relationship between the moves can be described are as follows:

Move I : Move III
 H1's prayer to cross : H1's salvation by cross
 H2's rejection of cross : H2's damnation by cross

Move II, in which Hs meet amo and are led by him to the hacienda/hell, acts as a central pivot in the structure of the tale, just as do the middle moves in Tales 8 + 9 below.

The tale follows the now familiar linear progression, and at the same time the moves into which that progression can be divided stand in a coherent relationship one to the other.

2.1.4 Tale 7

| Tale 7: <i>Diablo apashoa huarmi</i> | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------|--|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | widower remarries; wife illtreats his children | 1 |
| | i | she (H1) leaves home wishing herself 'to the devil' | 2 |
| | ii | buzzards circle overhead as she eats | |
| | iii | meets 'Taita Diosito' who refuses to take her with him | 3 |
| | iv | meets <i>chazo</i> (devil) who takes her | 3/4 |
| | v | they arrive at hell and enter | 7 |
| II | vi | husband (H2) sets out to seek H1 | 2 |
| | vii | H2 meets a <i>chazo</i> who refuses to help | 3/4 |
| | viii | meets devil who helps him | 3/4 |
| | ix | follows advice and enters hell | 7 |
| | x | devil shows him H1 who is in hell | 4 |
| | xi | devil refuses to free H1, but gives H2 soil to take home | 9a/8 |
| | xii | H2 returns home and buries soil | 9d |
| | xiii | soil turns to grain for H2 & family | 9c |

The initial situation is identical to that of Tales 25 and 26 (subsection (h)), and corresponds to the opening sequence of A-T 327A with which they have some connection. However, in the present text, it is the stepmother who deserts her home, rather than the children who are deserted, which could be read as a structural inversion of the usual pattern.

I have divided the text into two moves: Move I which deals with the departure, journey, encounter, and arrival at hell of H1, and Move II which is in many respects structurally repetitive of the first in that it traces the same sequence for H2. The all-important difference between them is found in Episode xii, which describes the return home of H2, whereas H1 remains in hell forever.

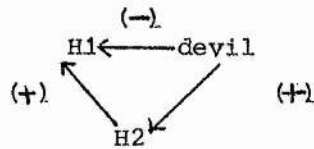
The 'split hero' feature is represented here by the opposition set up between husband and wife. The initially balanced relationship between them - matrimony - is disrupted by the wife's own rejection of her home and responsibilities. From that point onwards the terms in which they oppose each other could be stated thus:

| | | |
|-----------------|---|-----------------------|
| H1 | : | H2 |
| stepmother | : | natural father |
| faithless | : | faithful |
| hell | : | this world |
| damned | : | rewarded |
| remains in hell | : | returns to this world |

The disjunction of H1 and H2 is a prior necessity, so it seems, for H2 to become a mediator on behalf of H1. This shift in rôle, producing a human mediator who had formerly been on an equal footing with the victim of threat, is comparable to Tale 5, where the same thing happens.

There are other features of this text which compare with Tale 5 in particular: H2 follows H1 to hell, guided there by the devil; H2 finds H1 suffering torments. The pattern does not entirely correspond, however. In Tale 5 it was H1 who mediated on behalf of H2, saving him from a similar fate to his own. In Tale 7, it is H2 who intervenes for H1, on the other hand, to no avail. The position of the mediating hero with respect to the devil is markedly different in the two tales: in Tale 5, H2 has to escape by cunning; in Tale 7, H2 is helped and rewarded by the devil.

The pattern of relationships set up between the actors here is as follows:



Comparing this with the triads drawn up for Tales 4,5,&6, the main point to note is the change in attitude held by the devil towards H2. For the first, but not the last time, we find the devil adopting a positive attitude vis à vis the hero. In the case of this text at least, I would suggest that this is due to the workings of the 'split hero' feature: for H1 there is no redemption, and it is almost as a counterbalance to this that for H2 there is reward. This is a structural explanation, and there is also the fact that the devil is an ambivalent quantity who may act for good or bad according to circumstance. Further demonstration of this will be seen in Tales 8 and 9.

The paradigmatic arrangement of moves in relation to each other proves to be of particular interest in this, more complex, tale. As already noted, Move I is structurally repeated in Move II, with the exception of the final outcome. Then whereas at the beginning of Move I H1 departs ill-temperedly from home, at the end of Move II, H2 returns with good fortune to home. In various terms, these moves can be considered inversions of each other:

| | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Move I : | Move II |
| H1 : | H2 |
| children ill-fed by H1 : | grain miraculously supplied by H2 |
| H1 leaves home : | H2 goes in search of H1 |
| H1 remains in hell : | H2 returns home |
| H1's ill-will : | good fortune of H2 |
| H1's rejection of children : | return to children of H2 |
| 'Taita Diosito' refuses H1 : | first <i>chazo</i> refuses to help H2 |
| devil accepts H1 : | second <i>chazo</i> guides H2 |

Thus episodes occurring in Move II are repetitions or inversions of episodes in Move I, both of which trace the progress of the hero figures on their journeys to the other world and the outcome. Of particular interest is the double value assigned to the devil, who offers help to both but for different reasons, and with different end results.

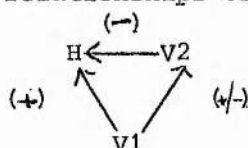
2.1.6 Tales 8 and 9

| Tale 8: <i>Diablohuan tupashca runa</i> & Tale 9: <i>El viajero quien se topó con el diablo</i> | | | | |
|---|---------|---|-------------------------------------|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | | FUNCTION |
| | | Tale 8 | Tale 9 | |
| I | | traveller (H) on road to Cuenca | | 1/2 |
| | i | meets devil (V1 - 'V' villain) carrying coffin | | 3 |
| | ii | V1 and H continue journey together | | 4 |
| | iii | pass house whose occupant sets dogs on them | | 3 |
| | iv | devil blows on them | | 6 |
| | v | H asks about remedy for <i>huairashca</i> , devil tells him | | 8 |
| II | vi | reach ravine where group of devils (V2) await coffin | pass bandits' hideout | 3 |
| | vii | | V1 protects H from bandits | 6 |
| | viii | | arrive at hell, V1 throws in coffin | 7 |
| | ix | V1 sends H back home by same route, as without sin | V1 goes back same way with H | 4 |
| | x | | vi&vii repeated | 3/6 |
| III | xi | passes house where devil had blown on occupants | | 3 |
| | xii | performs cure that devil had told him of | | 8 |
| | xiii | receives reward | | 9c |
| | xiv | returns home | | 9d |

The two versions of the tale follow the same narrative pattern with slight variations, as can be seen from the table. Where a variation in the sequence occurs it is noted in the Tale 9 column, otherwise the events in the Tale 8 column apply to both tales. The linear sequence is comparable to that of other tales in the sub-section, with particular focus laid on Function 8, whereby H gains knowledge which he later uses to his own ends.

Here the dualistic nature of the devil is expressed in the appearance of two devil types in the one narrative - a 'split villain'

function. V1 is the friendly travelling companion, V2 the group of devils who come in procession in search of condemned souls. V1 in this case becomes mediator on behalf of H, when the latter is confronted with potential threat from V2. For analytical purposes, this 'slot' may be filled by other dramatis personae, such as the bandits in Tale 9. The relationship between V1 and H in this tale merits comparison with that of cross and H in Tale 4, both devil in Tale 8 and cross in Tale 4 adopt the rôle of protector against a group of devils met along the road. Such similarity in the functions of devil and cross points up still further the thin dividing line that obtains between these two members of supposedly opposed spheres, in narrative tradition. Neither is painted in black and white, but in varying shades of grey. The positive attitude of V1 in the present text is further demonstrated in the way he causes illness to an outside party, then provides the hero with a profitable means of curing it. Unlike the devil of the European 'pact' lore, in this relationship there is no suggestion of a debt, to be absolved at a later date on the part of the hero. So the set of relationships established is:



The situation of the mediator is as usual complex: he adopts an ambivalent attitude towards his own kind: by bringing them the condemned soul which he carries in the coffin, but preventing them from carrying away his innocent travelling companion.

The moves into which the tale has been divided may be arranged paradigmatically to show the symmetry of the narrative thus:

Move I : Move III
 journey from home : return to home
 knowledge gained from devil : knowledge put to use

Move II can be seen as the central pivot point around which the narr-

ative revolves: containing the climatic moment of H's arrival at the other world, and his safe departure from it.

2.2 Group (ii): Encounters with devils in deserted buildings

I shall first examine Tales 10, 11 & 12, which can be taken to be variants, ie. similar in terms of both structure and content. Tale 13 contains elements of content and narrative pattern that differ sufficiently from those of the others for it to be looked at separately. Not least of these is the fact that it involves animal protagonists and on this and other counts is closely connected with Tale 28, a Cañar version of A-T130.

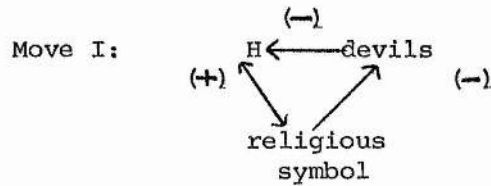
2.2.1 Tales 10, 11, & 12

| Tale 10: <i>Molinomanta</i> , Tale 11: <i>Diabloa huasiman yaicushea runa</i> , and Tale 12: <i>Chingarishca huahuacuna</i> | | | | | |
|---|---------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | | | FUNCTION |
| | | Tale 10 (key text) | Tale 11 | Tale 12 | |
| I | | H sleeps in empty mill | H shelters in empty house | Hs shelter in empty house | 1/7 |
| | i | xxxx | condemned soul in house | condemned soul in house | 3/4 |
| | ii | xxxx | soul gives H advice | xxxx | 6 |
| | iii | devils arrive | | | 3 |
| | iv | devils hold meeting | | | |
| | v | devil smells flesh | xxxx | | 4 |
| | vi | H crosses self | xxxx | Hs urinates | 6 |
| | vii | <i>gallo mishicu</i> crows | | | |
| | viii | H brandishes rosary | xxxx | xxxx | |
| II | viii | devils flee | | | 9a |
| | ix | H gains information from devils' book | (and takes their torches) | | 8 |
| | x | H goes to town with drought | | | |
| | xi | offers help | (shows torches) | | |
| | xii | releases water gets reward | | | 9c |

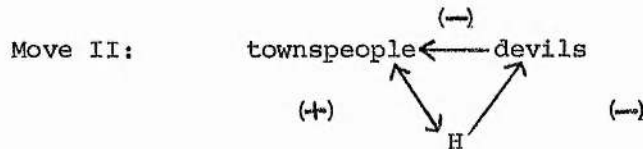
A reading of the above table should clarify the degree to which these tales are variants of each other, differing only in minor points of detail. When comparison between the linear sequence of variants is made in tabular form in this way, the 'key text', presented in the left-hand column, is used as the mean against which variants are held for comparison. Where any difference occurs in these, it is mentioned in its due place. If there is no such difference, and the episode occurs in the variant just as it does in the key text, the variant column is left blank. Where the episode is missing from the variant altogether, this is indicated 'xxxx'. These tales, together with Tale 13, have in common that the main focus is on the encounter, rather than on the journey, in which H overhears a meeting between devils in an abandoned building. Thus, whilst the pattern of functions is the same as for Group (i) in broad terms, the emphasis has shifted to a new area of the narrative. Associated with this characteristic structure are certain recurring motifs, which will be discussed in due course.

These tales differ from those in Group (i) in that no direct relationship is entered into between hero and devil. Instead, the hero finds himself unseen but potentially threatened by the devils. This threat is expressed in Episode (v) where in two of the three variants a crippled devil smells human flesh. The danger is overcome not by the mediation of a third party as in Group (i) tales, but rather by the use of some symbol which according to widespread and/or local tradition, has the power to vanquish the devil: sign of cross, sight of rosary, aspersion of urine, crowing of cockerel. The mediation by an object rather than by an actor, however, fulfills the same function (6), and the tales' narrative structure can be equally well perceived in terms of the relationships between hero,

devils, and mediator:



In Move II, the hero shifts to the position of mediator, vis à vis the townspeople whose water he is able to restore as a result of the information he overheard in Move I, thus:



The two moves into which I have divided the tales can be seen to stand in a symmetrical relationship one to the other, comparable to the one found to hold for Tales 8 and 9 of Group (i), namely:

Move I : Move II
knowledge gained from devil : knowledge put to use

A structural similarity suggests itself between the Groups (i) and (ii) at this stage: although the surface content differs, in terms of inner function there is common ground between those tales where the traveller gains information whilst on a journey, and those where the hero overhears useful knowledge whilst hidden in a deserted house. In each case the outcome is the same in terms of function: the hero puts the knowledge to profitable use. This observation helps to illustrate the usefulness of structural analysis, which causes similarities to be observed between tales of different sub-types, where a mere comparison of surface content might not do so. Where the tales are variants, however, whilst the method has an intrinsic interest, it does not necessarily reveal anything new. In the case of Tales 10, 11, and 12 per se, therefore, the main interest is in comparative analysis. It is possible here to draw several comparisons with narrative traditions from other areas, and I shall now turn my attention to this.

2.2.1.1 Comparative observations

GS/CA/14: '*Huahuacunata shitashcamanta*' provides a further Cañar variant - it is outlined in sub-section (h) in connection with the Mama Ahuardona tales. The tale begins as a variant of A-T327A: 'Hansel and Gretel', then the children having escaped from the old woman meet with a *caballero* who gives them a religious token. With this they pass the night in a deserted *hacienda* and from that point the narrative corresponds exactly to these Group (ii) devil legends. The fact that such an association exists between the two sub-types in this area may explain the initial situation of Tale 12, in which the hero 'slot' is filled by two children lost in a forest who come across a deserted house; it is tempting to assume a 'Hansel and Gretel' type identity for those two children.

The initial situation for Tale 11, on the other hand, is too imprecise to give us such clues, and Tale 10, which locates the tale in a deserted mill rather than *hacienda*, invites comparison with HD/SA/18: 'The beggar and the devils of the mill', in which a beggar spending the night in a deserted mill witnesses the devils holding school. This is a variation on the Cañar 'rendering accounts' motif, but otherwise Dufner's text follows the Cañar ones closely in both content and narrative pattern.

Although I as usual restrict comparisons to the Andean area, it cannot be overlooked that A-T613: 'The two travellers' contains a similar linear structure, and it is there that N451.1 and N452.1, listed with the texts above, are to be found. Close structural comparison with this and the Cañar texts is to be found with PM/CT/1: '*Los tres hermanos*'. This has an additional feature of 'unsuccessful repetition', the story going as follows: two poor brothers leave home and take shelter in a cave where they overhear a conversation between a bear and a condor who discuss two towns, one where the water has

dried up, and another where the people are turned to stone. As they talk, the condor smells raw meat, but the brothers are not discovered and live to visit the towns and earn their fortunes by setting things to rights. Upon their return home, their rich brother learns of their success and sets out to achieve the same results by imitating their actions. He, however, is discovered in the cave and eaten by the bear. (1)

The structural device whereby an overheard conversation between animals leads to the hero's being able to set right a wrong can be traced back to traditional 16C sources: Francisco de Avila's collection contains an account of the poor man Huatyacuri who overhears information from two foxes enabling him to cure the rich man Tamtañamca (1966 (1598?):34-39). Modern-day descendents of this are undoubtedly Mitchell's 'The skunk, the man and the sick princess' (1973:103), and the Ecuadorean PM/CT/5: '*Las tres hermanas*'. I consider it to be a narrative pattern indigenous to the Andes, to which the Cañar devil legends owe much in terms of their structure. If they owe any aspect of their pattern to the Indo-European type, this will be due to the prior existence of a compatible structure in the area, as I suggested in Chapter 2 would be seen to be the case. The Cañar text Tale 29: '*Urpicunamanta*' belongs to the same tradition, and is examined in sub-section (i).

2.2.2 Tale 13

This tale contains a combination of elements of the devil legends of this group, and elements of both pattern and content comparable with Tale 29: '*Pueblonuevomanta*'. The points at which the two texts coincide are more easily seen if their linear structure is examined together:

| Tale 13: <i>Misihuan ovejahuan</i> compared with Tale 29: <i>Pueblonuevomanta</i> | | | | |
|--|---------|--|------------------------------|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | | FUNCTION |
| | | Tale 13 (key text) | Tale 29 | |
| I | | animal Hs set out on journey | | 1/2 |
| | i | arrive in forest at night | | 2 |
| | ii | animal sees light from tree | | |
| | iii | follow direction of light | | |
| | iv | cat helps sheep cross river | xxxx | |
| | v | arrive at <i>hacienda</i> | (thieves' den) | 7 |
| II | vi | devils arrive in night | xxxx | 3 |
| | vii | devils hold meeting | xxxx | |
| | viii | sheep urinates onto devils' books | xxxx | 6 |
| | ix | Hs. fall through roof making noise | Hs. make noise outside house | |
| | x | devils flee | (thieves flee) | 9a |
| | xi | one devil returns | (one thief) | 3 |
| | xii | Hs. put enemy to flight again | | 9a |
| | xiii | Hs. inherit building with all its riches | | 9c |

The points at which the pattern of these two tales corresponds are also, as might be expected, those points at which Tale 13 diverges from Tales 10, 11, and 12: the journey sequence leading up to the confrontation in the house in the forest is given considerable space - no such account is contained in the other tales of this group; the journey and arrival sequences are linked by a motif in which the hero figure spies a light from a tree top which guides him and his companions; (2) a contrast is drawn between heroes' hardship at the outset of the tale and their good fortune at inheriting a well-stocked house or *hacienda*; the repetition in the final episodes whereby the chief devil returns to investigate and is scared away a second time corresponds to the last three episodes of Tale 29 involving the thief - no such structural repetition occurs in the other tales of the group, Tale 13 does not contain the idea of good fortune arising from the acquisition of secret knowledge; the information imparted in the

devils' meeting is inconsequential, and good fortune is merely seen in terms of inheritance of *hacienda* by heroes. This lack of logical necessity of the episode in which the devils 'render accounts' suggests that it is an intrusion into a tale which is in other aspects of its pattern more akin to the Tale 29 sub-type than the rest of the devil legends in the group. In terms of content, the appearance of animal as opposed to human protagonists links Tale 13 more closely still to Tale 29.

Reference to the Aarne-Thompson indices suggests that Tale 29 is a variant of A-T130: 'The animals in night quarters (Bremen City Musicians)', and this will be more fully discussed in the analysis of that text. It remains to consider how much Tale 13 owes to the same Indo-European type, and how much it belongs by adaptation to the local devil legend tradition. It could perhaps be labelled an oicotype of A-T130, whose oicotypical features have been encouraged to develop by the similarities in narrative pattern between the two tale types: thus the devils take over the structural 'slot' assigned to robbers in A-T130, and the associated episode involving the devils' meeting is naturally introduced. I have shown therefore that whereas at first glance Tale 13 appears to be nothing else than a variant of the other devil legends in the group, with animals taking over the hero function, it could be viewed as a variant of Tale 29 and by extension an oicotype of A-T130. Such a view of the tale can only be reached by looking at its structure, and the way in which that structure invites innovations of content to be included. (3) Now that the main points regarding the importance of the structure of the tale have been made, to devote additional space to paradigmatic analysis would not add usefully to the picture.

2.2.3 Group (iii): Tales of the pact with the devil

The tales consigned to Groups (i) and (ii) involve accidental encounters with the devil to which events there may or may not be an explicit moral attached. Tale 14 on the other hand must surely derive from the popular demonic pact tradition surviving in Spain and elsewhere in Europe well into the 16C. Here the hero sets out deliberately to get rich through a bargain with the devil for which he must ultimately forfeit his soul unless he can successfully outwit his debtee.

As only one variant of this text was collected, it is not possible to make an analysis of its narrative pattern in the context of that of other members of the sub-type. Certain features of content can be looked at on a comparative basis, however, and will be shortly. Firstly, however, I shall look at the structure of the narrative, albeit in isolation, as this may reveal unexpected affinities with other tales of other sub-types.

Despite its evident outside derivation, it should be examined to see whether or not it contains any features that link it in with more typical forms of beliefs surrounding the devil in the locality:

| Tale 14: <i>Diablohuan contratadoca</i> | | | |
|---|---------|--|---|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | H having made pact with devil grows worried as his time draws to close | not applicable as not of Section A type |
| | i | wife obtains advice from priest as to how to counteract devils | |
| II | ii | devils arrive; given impossible tasks | 7 (derives from local tradition) |
| | iii | black cockerel crows; devils making no progress | |
| | iv | ash cockerel crows; devils confer again | |
| | v | <i>gallo mishicu</i> crows; devils overcome | 9a |
| III | vi | H saved; priest performs exorcism | not applicable |

As indicated, much of the text does not conform to the narrative

pattern typical of this section, but Episodes(ii)-(v) do contain some structural links. In those episodes we have an example of what might be termed structural triplication: 3 devils appear to carry away the soul of the hero, 3 different tasks are set, 3 times a cockerel crows, 3 times the devils declare one after the other that they are finding their respective tasks impossible. The moves which enclose these episodes at either end involve the intervention of a priest who in Move I advises and in Move III performs an exorcism. The narrative is thus seen to have a neat and coherent symmetry. The triplication of the cockcrow, and the devils' denial of it on the first two occasions, is a major contributor to that symmetry, and it is in that feature that a link is to be found with other tales in the collection. The motif of the devils' denial of all cockcrows but that of the *gallo mishicu* is found in the form of a simple formula in Tales 10, 11, and also 25. Here it is expanded into a set of episodes. Whatever form it takes, the motif performs the same function in all the tales in which it appears: that of effectively overcoming the devils.

2.2.3.1 Comparative observations

Although no other text comparable in structure to Tale 14 was found, fragmentary accounts were collected which showed the prevalence of the 'demonic pact' notion in the local belief system. *Mestizos* also had anecdotes to tell in this tradition and I suspect that the indian use of it, as yet not very widespread, is a borrowing from their culture. It was common to find the notion of dealings with the devil to explain any sudden or inexplicable rise in the fortunes of a member of the community. (4) One *mestiza*, named Mercedes Molina, told how a very rich inhabitant of Coyoctor was believed to be '*compactado*': a particularly good crop of potatoes turned to stones after he had sold them. I heard variations of this on a number of occasions from

people in that community. MEZ drew a comparison between the notion of the pact with the devil ('*cucu*') and the results of cooperation with evangelist missionaries, according to the popular imagination:

"Cuentan que (los indígenas evangelistas) ponen S/.5 en cajón y amanece siendo S/.100."

The inference is that the missionaries in a sense 'bought' the souls of evangelist converts in return for wealth.

Another explanation for such riches came from GGG, who described how an indian from Chitaloma came by his fortune by entering a pact with the devil; the latter came to take him away in a black motor car (an updating of the 'black mule' motif), but the man's daughters succeeded in protecting him - we are not told how. EDC had a tale about a man who bribed the devil to give him riches by cutting off the devil's ear and refusing to return it until everything he demanded was supplied. The 'pact' idea is less prominent in this example, and another account of a more one-sided deal with the devil was provided by a *mestizo* of Cañar town named Sr. Cordero, who told how a man had become rich after encountering the devil in the *cerro*. (5)

3.0 The content of the devil legends

The devil legends were divided into the above three groups according to criteria of structure, and the discussion of details of their content became incidental while their form was being studied. Despite the interdependent relationship that exists between form and content, it is found easier to look at these separately, whilst always bearing in mind that the characteristics of the one are influenced by the characteristics of the other, and vice versa. (6) I shall now make a number of observations with regard to content, from two points of view: a) as far as elements of content (motifs) common from tale to tale reflect the common fund of popular belief from which such motifs

are drawn; b) as far as recurrence of motif from tale to tale may be explained by common structural features between those tales, and thus reinforce the argument for the latter. It will be useful to note the group to which the tales in which each motif occurs belong, remembering that these groups are based on structural criteria, and of special interest when the same motif occurs in tales of more than one group.

3.1 The motifs

- (i) *crus*: Group (i) Tales 4,⁵6,7
 Group (ii) Tales 10,11
 Group (iii) Tale 14

Cross symbolism in tale is undoubtedly derived from its use in religious practice and folk custom. (7) It crops up elsewhere in the material also: Tale 24: '*Ñaña culebramanta*' and Tale 31: '*Runahuan ch'alli huarmi huan*', for example. In the texts at hand we see how popular custom and belief are put to use in the context of oral narrative: in Tales 5, 10, and 11, the sign of the cross is used in a conventional way - ritual becomes a narrative motif. Tale 7, on the other hand, merely alludes to ritual, when the devil-*chazo* warns H1 not to cross herself in his presence; this is a step removed from the direct representation of custom in tale. In Tales 4 and 6, the cross takes on human qualities to act for or against the hero; here we have an even more literary allusion to popular belief, achieved through the device of personification. A further literary adaptation of cross symbolism is found in Tale 14, where a devil is set the task of carving a crucifix and its accompanying emblems; in the context of the belief system it is self-explanatory that he should find this impossible.

- (ii) *mula*: Group (i) Tales 4,6,7,9
 Group (ii) -
 Group (iii) -

The fact that the motif does not appear in Groups (ii) and (iii) suggests that it is bound to tales whose structure or narrative pattern is that of Group (i) only. (8) This is to say that it is only found in those tales where the hero encounters an individual devil, rather than a group, with whom he establishes a direct relationship; additionally the pattern almost invariably involves the hero's arrival at hell and his witnessing of the attributes of the latter. The mule is a feature of the scheme, seen as an agent or servant of the devil; in Tales 6 and 7 the devil appears as *mestizo* boss, mounted on a black mule; in Tale 4, we see how sinners are forced to pasture the devil's mules as punishment in hell. As a corollary to this, and perhaps explaining why mules and pigs are juxtaposed in this tale, there is GGG's comment in Tale 9 that the mule's urine in the *huairashca* remedy is really from a pig, and he elaborates:

"pero eso no es realmente mula, diz que dice, sino que es puerco....osea dicen que la mula del diablo es el puerco." (9)

In the comparative texts similar references are found to an association between devil/hell/sin and mule: GS/SA/5: '*Diabloguna cullquida cushcamanda*' contains a devil who rides a black mule; in HD/SA/23: 'The *comadre* and the *compadre*', an incestuous *comadre* is carried away into Cotopaxi on such an animal; in GS/CA/18: '*Ishoai huaquicunamanta*', an incestuous sinner is turned into a mule; Parson's 'The mule women' is an Imbabura variant of this (op.cit.137-8), and she also observes:

"Mules seem to be closer to the spirit world than horses, excepting white horses. When a spirit (*duende*) is mounted, it is always on a mule or a white horse."
 (op.cit.204)

- (iii) *huaicu* Group (i) Tales 4,7,8,9
 Group (ii) -
 Group (iii) -

As with motif (ii), this motif is bound to tales in Group (i), the implications of which have been discussed. In Tales 4, 7, and 9 hell is described as situated in a *huaicu*, its entrance behind a rock. In Tale 8, at the corresponding point in the narrative (Move III), the hero meets a group of devils also in a *huaicu* (ravine).

Supplementary data in the form of memorats reveals that the ravine setting for encounters with the devil and the location of hell belongs to a wider context of folk belief in the area, as I stated would be the case with some of the motifs. GGG, for example, gave an account of his own attempt to find 'hell' in company with some friends as a boy; they imagined it to be situated in the gorge of Ayahuaicu, below Juncal. He also told of an experience attributed to his brother-in-law who was once led to the edge of a gorge by an alluring female devil, as he made his way home rather drunk one night. GS/CA/11: '*Cucucunamanta*' is the narrator's elaboration on many ideas surrounding the nature of *ucu pacha*, its whereabouts and the attributes and behaviour of the devils who inhabit it; here too their habitat is thought to be the steep-sided gorges, behind rocks and boulders. (10) In SG/SG/3, also, hell is a cave behind a rock.

- (iv) *paila*: Group (i) Tales 4,5,7,9
 Group (ii) -
 Group (iii) -

This also commonly occurs in the context of descriptions of hell, reflecting yet another aspect of the local belief system. The use of the *paila*, a shallow round cooking vessel, is evidently a local adaptation of the idea of the cauldrons in hell, derived from Catholic teachings. Again it is confined to the Group (i) tales.

Supplementary data includes GGG's description of the hell imagined in Ayahuaicu; he also had a brief aetiological account of how the *paila* came to be in hell: it was being transported from Guayaquil up to the *sierra* when the *cerro* stole it from its bearers, and from that day: "*está sirviendo para infierno.*" The legend of the *paila* stolen by the hill is found commonly in Cañar and elsewhere (cf. PM/CT/21: '*Paila*'), but the connection between it and the origin of the vessel in hell is not usual. The *cerro* is held responsible for the loss of other objects also (eg. PM/CT/2: '*La campana perdida*'), so such tales really belong to a separate tradition. EDC also cites the *paila* as an attribute of hell; see also GS/SA/4: '*Almaguna pailabi timbuchishcamanda*' and SG/SG3: '*Shuj viajeromanta*'.

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------------|--------------|
| (v) <i>la caja ronca</i> | Group (i) | Tale 8 |
| | Group (ii) | Tales 11, 12 |
| | Group (iii) | - |

The fact that this motif occurs in tales of both Groups (i) and (ii), suggests a point of convergence between these: the *caja ronca* ('devils' drum') is associated with those narrative situations where a group of devils, as opposed to an individual devil, is encountered. In Tale 8, this group is met gathered in the characteristic ravine, sounding the *caja ronca* and awaiting the arrival of the soul whom the individual devil is bringing to them. In Tales 11 and 12, the devils gather in a deserted building, typical of Group (ii), again sounding the drum and accompanying instruments, and with the purpose of fetching the condemned soul that lies on the upper floor of the building. The recurrence of the motif in tales of dissimilar narrative pattern must be explained by assuming it belongs to a wider framework of beliefs in which the fetching of souls by the devils and the sounding of the *caja ronca*, regardless of the pattern of the tale

in which this event occurs or, by extension, the location of the event (ravine or deserted building). Supplementary data bears out this assumption.

EDC's explanation of the phenomenon is the most comprehensive, and as it draws together the two concepts - of devils in ravine and devils in abandoned building - it is worth reproducing here. In popular belief the two notions are put on a par with each other, at least in this connection, whilst for the sake of analysis I differentiated between them and considered the narrative contexts in which they occurred separately. EDC spoke as follows:

"Chai caja roncaca cana niari shug tucui layamanta cana nin, Chai millai judas runacuna cana niari, paicunaca purina nin, Juin, casi bastantes personas, painaca siquiera cuarenta cincuenta cana nin. Painaca tucui juin urcu huaicu sonachish purina nin. Maipi ña shug solo llugshin nin almata apangapa panteonman llugchig ringapa shug solo. Chai shug solomi entonces ña tupachun nin que mai puesto cashpapish tupachun nina nin luzcunahuan, tucui ima shuti. Chaimanta ña huaica aparincuna nin mai cash, infiernoman, mai cashpapish, Chashnallatashi purina nin, shug molino tiyana. Molino, shitashca molinocunapi, chaicunapi sirinacuna nin. Molino, huaicucunapi, cai tasquicunapi canacuna nin."

"Yes, there is indeed a thing they call the 'devils' drum', made up of all kinds of things. The devils walk abroad together, about forty or fifty of them, up onto the hillsides and down into the valleys sounding the drum. One of them goes to the graveyard alone to take away a soul. Then that one on his own meets up with the others, who are carrying lights, wherever they may be. Then between them they carry the soul to hell. Wherever there is an abandoned mill, they will lie down there. They may also be in the deep stony ravines, or in the waterfalls."

The lights to which he refers are often associated with the *caja ronca*, and are the lights of torches made of the bones of animals, carried by the devils, that burn with a greenish or multi-coloured glow; JPD corroborated this. Further information came from GGG, and JSA, which fitted in with the above, and GS/CA/11 describes how the devils carry away those who have committed incest between *compadres* in similar circumstances:

*"Chaita apan nin judascuna uraiman, Chai dedoblante nishca
chai uchilla caja huajtash purincuna, Huajtash tucui chaicuna
ima mundo musica shamush aparin nin, Ucu pachaman aparinga
chai uraiman maicunapi,"*

"The devils carry that person down. They go along beating that small drum called a *redoblante*. They come beating the drum and making music to carry him down to hell."

That the concept is part of a broader based belief upon which legend draws, is also suggested by the motif's appearance in Tale16, in which an unquiet soul protects the hero from a procession of devils that passes by with the *caja ronca*.

Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales found comparable expressions of belief for Saraguro and Salasaca; for the latter we learn:

"La pintan mentalmente como una caja que, sordamente resuena en la oscuridad de la noche persiguiendo a los ebrios. El informante expresa: 'Venta del pueblo por el camino más sólido, cuando menos pensaba oír el sonido de la caja ronca, a la distancia...' Para los campesinos la caja ronca encarna al demonio y, habita caminos y sitios solitarios en los páramos andinos."
(1966:237)

Guevara records for Pelileo that the devils are thought to sound the *caja* to protect thieves as they go about their business (1972:117); but under '*mala legión*' he has an entry for Tungurahua which fits in with the Cañar evidence more aptly:

"Los campesinos de Tungurahua y de otras provincias de la Sierra, hablan de la 'mala legión' o legión de diablos y almas condenadas que desfilan en la noche, portando cirios encendidos; pero cuando algún curioso se acerca a ver pasar esa misteriosa procesión, un desfilante se le acerca y le entrega su cirio, el mismo que al día siguiente asoma convertido en canilla humana."
(op.cit.272-3)

Thus the idea of the devils' torches being made of animal bones is put into a wider perspective.

| | | |
|---------------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| (vi) <i>pecados/jucha</i> | Group (i) | Tales 4,7 |
| | Group (ii) | Tales 10,11,12,13 |
| | Group (iii) | - |

The tales in Group (ii) provide the more usual narrative context for the expression of social attitudes towards sin; we can infer that the sins which society most condemns are those for which the chief devil has the most praise as the 'under-devils' come forward with their reports. Folk narrative in this case is providing an inverted commentary on reality. According to this criterion we understand incest between *compadre* and *comadre* to be the gravest of sins.

This attitude is borne out in the comparative data: GS/CA/14 also cites incest among the sins caused to be committed; GS/CA/11 cites this example when describing why certain people are carried away by devils; GGG agreed that incest between members of the same family, *compadres*, or in-laws, were all regarded as sins, over and above others in gravity. He cited the belief in '*gagones*' - the souls of incestuous couples that wander abroad in the form of dogs as if to broadcast the misdeed that is taking place. (11) Punishment for *compadre* incest is also the theme of PM/CT/16, and HD/SA/23.

Tales 4 and 7 contain allusions to idea of punishment of sins in a different narrative context: from Tale 4 we learn that theft of money or cheating over land boundaries are also condemnable; Tale 7 refers briefly to the idea of a hierarchy of punishments according to the sin.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| (vii) <i>ullachu/ullahuanga</i> : | Group (i) | Tale 7 |
| | Group (ii) | Tales 10,11 |
| | Group (iii) | - |

References to the *ullachu* occur in differing ways in the three tales cited: in Tale 7, buzzards circle overhead as the heroine is

alone on the road; although the narrative context is different, a momentary association is made with the tale of the single girl and the buzzards (Tales 20 & 21). The heroine's subsequent encounter with the devil suggests a common value attached to the two figures - buzzard and devil - which shall be discussed in sub-section (e). They undoubtedly belong to the same world, to such an extent that in Tale 11, the term *ullahuanga* is used as a synonym for devil; the association is also implied in Tale 10 where the chief devil uses a buzzard feather as a quill with which to write.

- (viii) *gallo mishicu* Group (i) -
 Group (ii) Tales 10,11,12
 Group (iii) Tale 14

In Tale 14 we found the *gallo mishicu* used as the last of a series of cockerels whose crows were rejected in turn by the devils as powerless over them; only the *gallo mishicu* had the power to overcome them. The explanation for this, given elsewhere in the formulaic dialogue: "*Yana gallo ñucapa, yurag gallo ñucapa*", etc., is that whilst the *gallo mishicu* 'belongs to God', all other kinds of cockerel belong to the devil. This idea was expressed independently by many informants, for example MC:

"*Cai tiempopipish tiyanmi gallitocuna tucui laya: yura gallo, yana gallo, puca gallo, tucui laya. Chai gallo mishicuca taita Diospa. Chai yana gallocuna, chai morado gallocuna, puca gallocunaca supaiipa.*"

"These days there are all kinds of cockerel: white ones, black ones, red ones, all kinds. That *gallo mishicu* is God's. The black, purple and red ones belong to the devil."

This idea was echoed by MEZ, GGG and JSA. The notion that a particular type of cockerel should belong to God in contrast to all others is compatible with a farther reaching division of animals into opposite categories, summarized for me by MEZ: 'of the devil' were a type of large green frog (cf. the frogs found in the spring blocked by the

devil in Tale 11), "*también los lagartos, los perricotes, los churillos, el mañungu, las culebras, las cuicas (c'uru), los rachig* (worm that lives in agave cactus), *las cucarachas; de taita Dios son las zhutas, urpi, palomas,*" pigs, sheep, cows, guinea-pigs, rabbits. Its appearance in devil legend is associated with the overcoming of a group of devils, encountered on an impersonal basis; this accounts for its absence from Group (i) tales whose narrative pattern involves hero's relationship with one individual devil.

It may be traced beyond the context of devil legends to Tale 33 of the Christ Child cycle, for example, where Christ transforms himself into a cockerel to elude his devil pursuers; this illustrates further the fact that this is another motif which, whatever its origins, has come to form a part of the broad base of popular belief which provides the substance of folk narrative.

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------|-------------|-------------|
| (ix) | <i>suchu/huishtu</i> | Group (i) | - |
| | | Group (ii) | Tales 10,13 |
| | | Group (iii) | - |

These terms are used to describe further attributes of the devil, confined to those contexts where the devils appear in a group; the spread of this notion is exemplified by its recurrence in the Christ Child tales also (Tales 33 & 34). EDC and LA both used the term in independent accounts. Whilst a minor motif, it provides further illustration of the consistency of narrative tradition, which regularly seeks to include it where the context is apt, and which transfers it from one branch of tradition to another where the context triggers off certain associations. On a comparative note, LS/CH/9: 'The life of Christ' contains an aetiological reference to the idea that a blind and crippled devil was left behind to tempt people, after Christ's cockerel had overcome all the rest of his minions.

| | | |
|--|-------------|----------------|
| (x) devil as <i>amo/hacienda</i> as hell | Group (i) | Tales 5,6,7,8 |
| | Group (ii) | Tales 11,13,12 |
| | Group (iii) | - |

The image of the devil as *amo* and the related concept of hell in the guise of a *hacienda* is made quite explicit in Group (i) tales where these false appearances lead the hero astray; that these appearances are not what they seem may be read further as a reflection of indian experience in dealings with representatives of *mestizo* culture. (12) Note that where his physical appearance is not mentioned, his words are what entice the hero into his confidence, viz. Tale 8:

"*Ama amito nichu, amigo ni. Nucaca mana amochu cani.*"

"Don't call me master, call me friend. I'm not a boss."

Sometimes both techniques of deception are used in the same tale, eg. Tale 7. In the comparative material, there is a similar narrative context in Parsons's 'The mule women', in which the hero wanders up onto the *páramo* and encounters a 'man in a green suit':

"He drew nearer, he saluted, "Buenos días, patrón!"
Green Suit responded, "Don't call me patrón, call me friend. What are you doing round here?"
(op.cit.137)

This kind of exchange can be regarded as a formulaic motif to be identified with a specific narrative environment, therefore,

There appears to be some variation in the application of terms derived from real-life social categories: in Tales 5 and 6, the devil is *amo* and *mayordomo*; in Tale 7 he is *chazo* and is contrasted with a God figure who is *amo*; in Tale 8 he rejects the label *amo* and asks to be called *amigo*, apparently to inspire the hero's confidence in him. The notion of a God figure as *amo* is found elsewhere: in LS/CH/2: 'Pobre danzante', Taita Chimborazo appears benevolently to a poor man, and is described in terms reminiscent of the description of 'taita Dios' in Tale 7:

"*chai alaja yuraj yuraj caballiru amu yuraj yuraj caballupi tiyarishca.*"

"That fair fair gentleman seated on a white white horse."

cf. similar references to 'God' figures in HD/SA/3: 'The poor alcalde'. and PM/CT/16: "*Cutupagzi*".

Such terminology may well be the folkloric antithesis to the application of the term *huiracocha* to the Spanish in the early days of conquest, by a native population that confused, at least in popular belief, this event with a return of their god. (13) In historical reality, men were termed gods; in contemporary folk narrative we find gods termed men. The devil as *amo* is also found as a motif elsewhere in the comparative texts: see HD/SA/23: 'The *comadre* and the *compadre*'. This apparent arbitrariness in the application of such value-laden terms to figures who should by all accounts be associated with opposing values leads us to question whether in the indian mind this is really so: perhaps if the truth were ever to be arrived at, the ambiguity which attaches to the devil in folk narrative would be found to attach equally to manifestations of the Catholic god. The application of the term *amo* falls short of complimentary in any context, given its socio-historical implications, and we might find that still today the indian concept of God and devil are as little distinct from each other as were early conceptions of the Spanish overlords, as recorded by the native chronicler:

"I thought they (the Spanish) were kindly beings sent (as they claimed) by Tesci Viracocha, that is to say, by God; but it seems to me that all has turned out the very opposite from what I believed: for let me tell you, brothers, from proofs they have given me since their arrival in our country, they are the sons not of Viracocha, but of the Devil."
(Titu Cusi Yupangui, citing words attributed to Manco Inca, op.cit.31)

To the ambiguity of concepts regarding the devil, we may therefore add ambiguity of concepts regarding God, and what better term to apply to either of these than that which was applied to the Spanish, and continues to be applied despite the gradual disappearance of the *hacienda* system: the term *amo*. (14)

In Group (ii) tales, the concept of devil as *amo* is less developed and more implicit. Such implications are found in the terminology applied to the group of devils and their leader. The latter is referred to as *capataz* and as *capitán*; the narrator of Tale 12 draws the following analogy with the devils' meeting:

*"Cutin shug ña chayan nin, como ser caipi shug gente
trabajopi patronman huillash cuenta ima trabajota,
chashna chayashpa."*

"Then another devil arrived, just as here people come to report to the boss on their work."

EDC spoke of the supposed hierarchy of the devils in hell, although didn't identify their headquarters with a *hacienda* or other disused building, he stressed that the 'younger' devils would go out to do the tasks set them by the *capataz*. In GS/CA/11, we find the idea expressed that those people who are carried to *ucu pacha* are made to work for the devils as *peones*:

*"Ucu pacha chaipi charinga ña ñucanchijta ña chashna causachishpa,
Ña ucu pachapi causanchij paicunapa peon tucushpa causanchij."*

"There they will make us live like that in hell. There we live as workmen in hell."

Here, hell is identified in the more traditional way with rocks and ravines, but the analogy can be made in either setting. A sociological allusion may even be found in Tale 14 (Group (iii)): the overcoming of the devils described in terms of the wife's having her *cédula* returned to her alludes to the practice of leaving one's identity card as a token (*prenda*) when an indian borrows money from a white.

The idea of hell as *hacienda* is a logical extension of the analogy between devil and *mestizo* boss. There are also other implications which link the notion with other aspects of the belief system. The *hacienda* of the devil in tale is frequently described as well-stocked with all kinds of food and good things, by which the hero is

tempted (Tale 6), and which he may be lucky enough to inherit (Tale 13). Such a notion may be corollary to the belief that deserted *haciendas* are the domain of buried treasure. EDC in a conversation corroborated the idea that abandoned *haciendas* may contain buried gold, guarded by the devils, and Tale 36 provides an aetiological reference to back up the idea; here the devils are believed to have been shut up in such a building by God as a punishment, and it is described as containing shining objects, presumably gold. GGG remarked that certain precautions should be observed if trying to dig up gold from places believed to be inhabited by devils, such as abandoned houses. Thus these latter derive a double-edged value - being potential sources of riches but equally well danger spots where diseases can be contracted from the presence of 'bad air'. GGG's own words should make this clearer:

"Curita allashpa chaipi entonces diabolicuna causashca nin, chai antimonía nishca. Curita tarishpa... entonces chai cucucuna llugshichun cruzhuan santihuarishpa llugchincuna nin cucucunata maijancunaca. Jichushca huasipi cucucuna causan nincuna, entonces chaipi cruzta ruhuashpa shitancuna nin; uchupata o miashpa shitancuna nin chaipi ña sano nin, cucucuna llugshin ña."

"Devils or 'bad air' are present where gold is dug up. Some people when they find gold make the sign of the cross and the devils are made to come out. They say devils live in deserted houses, so by making the sign of the cross they are exorcised; by urinating or sprinkling ash the devils come out and everything is safe." (15)

When we come to look at the possibility of there being structural equivalences between beliefs regarding the dwelling places, attributes and behaviour of the devil, and those of more traditional figures, similarities between beliefs surrounding devils as guardians of treasure and beliefs surrounding *huacas* will also suggest themselves. The Group (ii) tales in which devils' *hacienda* leads to good fortune for hero, after necessary precautions against bad influences have been taken, are in my opinion the literary and metaphorical expression of these beliefs.

4.0 The concept of 'devil' and associated notions in Cañar

In summary, I shall consider the question: what then does the term '*diablo*' mean in Cañar belief and tale? That there is no one answer to this the above analysis should have made clear. The notion of devil has been drawn from different traditions, some implanted, others indigenous, and the tales are the results of the reworking of a number of elements into a local coherent system.

4.1. Terminology

'*Diablo*' is only one of many terms which are applied in one context or another, by one informant or another, to express the notion of a 'threatening agent associated with the other world'. The concept of 'devil' in terms of the teachings of the Church should not be allowed to colour our understanding of how the indian has adopted this and other terms to apply to his own system of classification; a system which by no means derives from those teachings, although it has been very influenced by them. The terms used in the tales, and my interpretation of their associations and derivations are as follows:

| <u>TERM</u> | <u>TALE</u> | <u>DERIVATION</u> |
|---------------------|----------------|---|
| <i>judas</i> | 34 | deriving from free association with Christ's betrayers and enemies according to the Gospels |
| <i>judío</i> | 11,37 | |
| <i>judaicu</i> | 33 | |
| <i>cucu</i> | 14,37,GS/CA/11 | traditional European terms, some derived from Bible |
| <i>satanás</i> | 6,33 | |
| <i>diablo</i> | 13,4,5,7,8,9 | |
| <i>tentación</i> | 13 | association with moral qualities |
| <i>enemigo malo</i> | 12 | |
| <i>millaicuna</i> | GS/CA/11 | |
| <i>patojo</i> | 11 | |
| <i>hwishtu</i> | 11 | from association with 'crippled devil' tradition in popular lore |
| <i>suchu</i> | 10,33,34 | |
| <i>encogido</i> | 34 | |
| <i>supai</i> | 12 | Quechua term for 'devil' (16) |

| | | |
|-------------------|----------|--|
| <i>capataz</i> | 13,12,33 | derived from analogy with real-life social categories |
| <i>chazu</i> | 7 | |
| <i>amo</i> | 5,6,7,8 | |
| <i>mayordomo</i> | 6 | |
| <i>capitán</i> | 10 | |
| <i>ullahuanga</i> | 13,11 | from traditional association of this bird with the devil |

It will be noted that I draw in tales from other sections, as a means of showing again how the concept is not confined to only one type of tale. Some of these categories are also reflected in the terminology found in Imbabura: "*sopay, enemigo, maligno, atentación, satanás*" (Parsons op.cit.89), and no doubt elsewhere.

4.2 The rôle of the devil: structural considerations

An aspect of Cañar devil lore which has only been hinted at in passing so far, is the possibility that many of his attributes may be seen to apply to other notions regarding the inhabitants of the non-human world, and that the term *diablo* and its synonyms might be considered transformations of these. I refer particularly to associations at a structural level between devil and buzzard, also discussed in sub-section (e), devil and *urcu yaya/mama*, and devil and rainbow. I shall look at some of these now.

Aspersions of urine, considered an effective measure against the power of the devil, is also advocated as a remedy against contact with the rainbow, and, as mentioned in sub-section (a), in one account appeared to be linked with the safe return of the hero from the domain of the *urcu mama*. The rainbow, furthermore, was referred to by EDC as an agent of the *enemigo malo*, synonym for *diablo*. Such considerations suggest that whilst these personages are quite distinct one from the other on one level, there is a level at which they can all be seen to imply an analogous threat to humans who come into contact with them; the analogies are expressed in different ways, as shall be seen.

The devil, as we saw, may be held responsible for the abduction of unbaptized children, in much the same way as traditionally the *urcu yaya* was made offerings of the same. In sub-section (h) it will be discussed how the intrusion of devil legend elements into Tale 25: '*Huahuacunahuan jatun mamarucuhuan*' might be a result of traditional associations between devil/Mama Ahuardona/Mama Huaca, and cannibalistic tendencies. There is a level, though not apparent on the surface of the narratives, at which all these personages can be seen to perform similar functions.

There is also a connection between devil and *urcu yaya* in the idea that both can cause disease: contact with either can result in *huairashca*, and it would seem that such ideas associated with the devil are a transformation of ideas formerly attached to a figure in the indigenous belief system. The antithesis to hill father as bringer of disease was hill father as assistant to the *curandero*, and, in tale at least, we find devils who both cause illness and provide the remedy for it. (17) To continue in the same vein, there may well be a mutual association between the rôles of devil and *urcu yaya* behind a comparison to be drawn between the latter's gift of maize to H in Tale 1, and the devil's gift of soil which turns into grain in Tale 7. To some extent H2's visit to hell in the latter tale can be seen as structurally similar to H's visit into the hill in Tale 1,

Some indication has already been given that the devil as guardian of treasure, and the associated illness he can cause, might fill the same 'slot' as the *antimonios* that cause illness when the *huacas* are disturbed. I have no certain evidence that the popular beliefs surrounding *huacas* in Cañar are related to those surrounding the *soq'a machula* or *gentiles*, of myth found in present-day S. Peru, however, Gow and Condori's description of the Peruvian evidence calls for some

comparison to be made:

"Al aparecer el sol en el horizonte y cantar el gallo, comprendieron (los primeros hombres - *ñawpaq*) que no tenían tiempo de escapar; enterraron su oro, plata, tejidos, herramientas y adornos; estos son los 'tapados', tesoros escondidos que arden de noche y que son excavados a lo largo del tiempo... los *ñawpaq* se lanzaron hacia la selva maldiciendo al sol... pero la mayoría quedó inmovilizada... y fueron quemados o transformados en piedras y rocas donde todavía moran... otros se han convertido en el temido *soq'a machula*, el espíritu mortífero de la malévola izquierda de los antepasados... se puede coger el mal de *soq'a* respirando el vapor de sus huesos..."

(Gow (R.) and Condori 1976:21)

Whilst mythological details differ somewhat, the attitudes towards *huacas* in the Cañar area are closely comparable. (18) What they have in common is a fear of the 'breath' of the ancestors, in Cañar associated with the material remains of these. If we presuppose a connection between these spatially distant but culturally related beliefs, it is the next logical step to suggest structural similarities in the belief system between certain aspects of the devil lore and lore regarding ancestors, their haunts and effects of the living. The logical step I am taking can be described in these terms: if Ecuadorean *huaca* and devil lore are structurally related on certain levels, and *huaca* and Peruvian *tapado* beliefs belong to the same category, it follows that we should be able to draw comparisons between Ecuadorean devil lore and Peruvian lore surrounding the *tapados/soq'a machula*. The following table lays out the comparisons which I think to be valid:

| Attributes of the <i>soq'a</i> (Peru) (19) | Attributes of the devil (Cañar) |
|--|--|
| 1. according to myth the <i>ñawpaq machula</i> disappeared at emergence of sun and crowing of cockerel | devils vanquished at daybreak with crowing of cockerel |
| 2, in their haste to escape they buried treasures which may still be dug up today | devils are guardians of buried gold - usually in deserted <i>haciendas</i> |
| 3. some were transformed into rocks and are believed still to live in these | believed to inhabit hell which is situated behind rocks (or in deserted <i>haciendas</i>) |
| 4. some converted into <i>soq'a machula</i> , contact with whom can cause sickness. Not good to frequent its haunts. | contact causes sickness. not good to frequent its haunts. |

4.3 Conclusions

Whilst the devil in his many rôles and guises is an individual in his own right, it can be seen that there are many points in the structure of the belief system at which lore regarding him cuts across lore regarding other characters in that system. There is no doubt that certain aspects of the concept of devil in Cañar are transformations of other concepts more native to the area. In short, the devil legends comprise a synthesis of Catholic and indigenous elements, the latter of which are also attached to more traditional local figures. (20)

FOOTNOTES

(1) cf. a Mexican-American version of this tale: '*Los dos compadres*', which has the same pattern of rich/poor and unsuccessful imitation, and the same sequence of events is followed (Miller 1973:275).

(2) where the narrative 'climate' is right, this motif has also been introduced elsewhere: see Tale 25, which is considered to be a fusion of A-T327A and the devil legend sub-type under study.

(3) the concept of 'oicotype' will be explained and more fully applied in sub-section (h).

(4) cf. Foster (1964), who found tales of buried treasure in a Mexican peasant community performed the same function.

(5) for full details of these 3 examples, see Appendix II;

(6) in this matter I agree with Lévi-Strauss's discussion of Propp, referred to in Chapter 2, in which he also states: "*Forme et contenu sont de même nature, justiciables de la même analyse. Le contenu tire sa réalité de sa structure, et ce qu'on appelle forme est la 'mise en structure' des structures locales, en quoi consiste le contenu.*" (op.cit.137)

(7) the introduction of crucifixes, and their superimposition upon sites already attributed a religious significance by the native population, was a part of the early process of evangelization, as we learn from the *Constituciones del Primer Sínodo de Quito* (1570): "...y tambien mandamos poner cruces en muchas guacas y adoratorios que hemos mandado destruir en las juntas de los caminos en las camongas que son las quentas de las lagunas y en los cerros altos por que generalmente en estos lugares son guacas y adoratorios de los yndios lo qual nos parescio por que donde dios fue ofendido agora sea bendito y rreverenciado." (introd. Vargas 1945:90). For references to usage of crucifix/sign of cross in contemporary folk custom, see: Guevara (1972:?): "*Diablo en fuga. Para ahuyentar al diablo...usan talismanes de apariencia católica o sus propios amuletos de la herencia tradicional indígena.*" Also Carvalho-Neto

(1964:?), see entry under '*Cruz*' where he cites examples of use of sign of cross in folk custom; Costales and Costales de Peñaherrera (1961:275) refer to its usage in combating the '*voladora*', and in (1966:438-445), they trace the origins and development of sign of cross as popular folkloric symbol, including various egs. of *fiestas* held for the Cruz de Mayo in other parts of Ecuador (cf. Tale 9), also cite its use in agricultural and curing ceremonies.

(8) Motifs (iii) *huaiyu*, and (iv) *paila* also fall into this category. We may infer from this that not only is the motif bound to those narrative contexts where certain structural characteristics prevail, but also that to some extent the representations of the devil as seen in the three groups of devil legend belong to three traditions of devil lore and narrative, characterized by the motifs they contain as well as by their narrative structure. Common ground between the three groups is mainly in the area of motif, and we will come to examples of this also.

(9) a further corollary to such mule lore may be found in another branch of Cañar narrative tradition, namely in Tales 33, 46, and remarks by GZP - all containing aetiological references to the curse put on the mule by the Virgen Mary. For the mule in tradition in Peru, see Morote Best (1952, 1958a:824-825).

(10) the texts of these accounts are reproduced in the Appendix III.

(11) for comparative references to this belief, see: Landivar (1971:107), Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales (1966:235-236); GGG's account is reproduced in the Appendix IV; conversations with MJA and MT confirmed these attitudes.

(12) the terminology of social categories varies from region to region in Ecuador, and is different again to that used in Peru. In the Cañar area, the terms *amo/patrón* may be applied to members of either the *chazo* or the *blanco* classes, more commonly the latter. The *chazo* occupies a particularly ambivalent place in the scheme of things, being an indian who has forsaken his origins by rejecting indian clothing, adopting Spanish as his main means of communication, and often seeking work closer to the town and more linked to the market economy. The term *rutu* is often used synonymously with *chazu*, literally meaning someone who has cut their hair, another sign of the indian male's rejection of traditional mores. *Chazu* and *rutu* do not therefore denote a racial distinction, but rather a shift in lifestyle which creates barriers and friction between this and the class they seek to reject. The term *blanco* in the context of Cañar is applied to those town dwellers who will also own much of the land worked by the indians, and who in the wider context of Ecuadorean society would probably be termed *cholo* or *mestizo*. For further discussion of these points, see Fock (1976), who found *chazu* to be the same as *mestizo*.

(13) see Wachtel's documentation (1977:22), which gives extracts from Titu Cusi Yupangui (1916), who was sceptical about this commonly held idea.

(14) the ambiguity of God figures is further suggested by the appearance of a cross/'*taita Diosito*' as guardian to hell in Tale 9.

(15) cf. Guevara (1972:354) who cites Costales and Peñaaherrera de Costales (1961:273-274) on methods of excavating buried gold and the precautions necessary to avoid *antimonio*.

(16) see Cáceres Olazo's documentation of the characteristic interpretations of *supay* as equivalent to devil by the Spanish chroniclers (1970:21-25); cf. Nuñez del Prado (J.) (1970:103-104).

(17) these tales (8 & 9) are of course figurative expressions of the popular belief that contact with the devil's 'breath' causes *huairashca*. Further evidence for the existence of this belief was supplied by GGG in a memorat about his father (see Appendix V).

(18) see Muñoz-Bernand (n.d.1ff.)

(19) this evidence is drawn from Gow (R.) and Condori (loc.cit.); more detailed description of the *soq'a*, which transcends points of comparison with Cañar devil lore, may be found in Nuñez del Prado (J.) (op.cit.82-89).

(20) the seeds of this synthesizing process in belief, and thence in legend, may be found in the ethnocentric interpretations put upon indian religious practices by the early chroniclers and missionaries and perpetuated over the centuries, a situation which was not unique to the Inca area, as Correa, speaking about the attitudes that developed in Guatemala remarks: "*Dioses abortígenes igual Diablo cristiano; tal fue la consigna que llenó la obra evangelizadora de América.*" (1971:11).

Section A sub-section (c): Tales of the return of the deadTextsTale 15: El viajero que se encontró con un alma

Voy a contar del alma primero: la mujer diz que se quedaba, entonces el esposo se murió. Entonces siempre él anda, el alma, todos los veces, ¿no? El viajero entonces se topó con ese alma, ¿no? Entonces diz que dice: - ¿Adónde estás yendo?

Seguramente estaba viajando a Cuenca, decía. Acá abajo, más abajo de Biblián hay un punto que se llama Peruncay. Antes que cruce el puente ferrocarril hay una quebrada que se llama Peruncay. Entonces más acá arriba hay un punto que se llama Fábrica de Quesos. Ahí se llamaba Saltos antes. Entonces por ahí había muchos asaltantes que asaltaban a la gente y a los viajeros. Entonces una vez se encuentra con el alma. Ahí en esa bajada había muchos asaltantes. Entonces el alma diz que decía: - Tú quédate aquí no más, yo voy a ir adelante. A lo que yo regreso, entonces nos vamos iguales.

Entonces él se adelantó un poco, y regresó. Entonces a lo que otra vez iba con ése, estaban bien dormidos los asaltantes. ¿Qué es lo que hacía? Cogía todas sus armas y llevaron y dejaron en un puesto escondido. Entonces los asaltantes quedaron dormido allí. Entonces se fueron así a Cuenca.

Regresaron. Entonces la misma cosa. Hicieron dormir y pasaron. A lo que llegan de allí por ese sector más o menos es que dice: - Oyete, compañero, mañana mi esposa va a hacer una minga de trabajo. Quédate aquí para dormir y mañana que ayudes en el trabajo a mi esposa. Entonces la esposa estaba dormida dice. Él se va, entra. La esposa diz que tenía una olla llena de chicha preparada, algunas tal vez. Entonces coge un envase, una 'shila' que se llama. Coge la shila, trae la chicha, y le da así. (narrator gestures aspersion on ground) Pero diz que dice: - Tome.

Pero le riega un poquito en el suelo. - Puede que usted haiga dado mal viento, 'huairashca' que dicen.

(Q: ¿Regó para evitar mal viento?)

Sí. El alma mismo diz que decía: - Puede que usted haiga dado mal viento. - Riega un poquito en el suelo y toma.

(Q: Entonces, ¿la mujer no sabía que era un alma, o sí sabía?)

La mujer estaba dormida. Osea el alma era el marido el que estaba andando haciendo eso. Entonces dio la chicha. Tomaba. A lo que está tomando él chicha, él fue saliendo ya. Porque ya iba a amanecer. Entonces dejó advirtiéndole que ayude en el trabajo de la mujer. Y que tome esta chicha.

Entonces al día siguiente, sentado en el corredor afuera no más, diz que cuenta: - ¿Cómo viniste? - diz que dice.

Ahí diz que dice: - Su marido me encontró. Nos fuimos a Cuenca iguales y vinimos iguales. Como señas me dejó dando esta shila de chicha. Ya acabé de tomar.

Ahí la mujer diz que dice: - ¿Por qué no has avisado?

Así muchas veces le encontraba así con ese hombre pero no se topaba con la mujer. La mujer diz que decía que pudiera pagarle pero que traiga al marido. Pero no diz que parecía el marido. Siempre le ayudaba en el trabajo, pero no él mismo sino que hacía ayudar con otro. Le traía robando a otro para que ayude.

The traveller who met a soul

I'll tell you the story of the soul first: they say that a wife remained behind when her husband died. Now the soul always wanders about, right? So the traveller met this soul, right? And the soul asked him: "Where are you going?"

He was probably going to Cuenca. Just down below, below Biblián, there's a spot called Peruncay. And further up this way there's a place called Cheese Factory. It was called Saltos there before. Well, around there there used to be a lot of bandits who would attack travellers. Well, one day the traveller met the soul, and they began to journey by night. There on that hill going down, there were many bandits. So the soul said: "You stay just here, I'm going to go ahead. When I come back, we'll go on together."

So he went on a little way, then came back. As they went along again together, the bandits were all sound asleep. What did the soul do? He would take all their arms and carry them to a hiding place. Then the bandits would remain sleeping there. Then they went on to Cuenca.

They came back and the same thing happened: they put the robbers to sleep and passed by. As they arrived in that area more or less, the soul spoke: "Hey, comrade, tomorrow my wife is going to have a *minga*. Stay here to sleep so that tomorrow you can help her in the work."

Now his wife was asleep and they went into the house. They say that she had a pot full of *chicha* ready, or several maybe. So the soul took an earthen jug, a '*shila*' as it's called, took some *chicha* in it and did this. (narrator gestures aspersion on ground) Then he said: "Drink." But he sprinkled a little on the ground saying: "You may have caught a little *mal viento*, or '*huairashca*' as we say."

(Q: Did he sprinkle it to avoid *mal viento*?)

Yes. The soul himself said: "You may have caught *mal viento*."

He sprinkled a little on the ground and drank.

(Q: Did the woman know it was a soul, or not?)

The woman was asleep. You see, the soul was her husband who was doing this. So he gave him the *chicha* and he drank. While he was drinking *chicha*, the soul went out, for day was breaking already. And he left word that he should help his wife in the work, and drink the *chicha*.

Well, the next day, as the traveller was sitting just outside the house in the *corredor*, the woman asked him: "How did you come here?"

"Your husband found me. We went to Cuenca and back together. As a sign he gave me this jug of *chicha*. I've just finished it".

And the woman said: "Why didn't you tell me?"

And so on many occasions, the soul met that man like that, but he never met his wife. The wife told the man she could pay if he were to bring her husband. But the husband never appeared. He always helped her in her work, but not himself. Instead he helped through another person. He would capture somebody else and bring them to help.

Informant: GGG, 28th October, 1976

- E332.2 Person meets ghost on road
- E363 Ghost returns to aid living
- E265.1 Meeting ghost causes sickness
- E321 Dead husband's friendly return
- E415 Dead cannot rest until certain work is finished
- E596 Living person in service of a dead man
- E585 Dead person visits earth periodically

Tale 16: Almahuan tupashoa runa

Ñuca rini caipi shug parlota parlash saquingapa. Tiemposhi shug chashnallata rina nin. Shug cartahuan purina nin. Cuencaman ricuna nin. Ña jatarishpa rina nin chaira tutamantami canga nishpa ricuna nin, mana tutamanta cashca nin, chaira ni manara chugpi tuta. Ricuna nin ricuna nin ricuna nin. Chashna ricugpica mai huaicuta pasacugpica manchanayana nin. Juin manchanayana nin de una vez juin. Pai tigraricugpica almita huashata c'atig ricuna nin. Chaihuan rina nin almahuan. Ña ishcai tucush nina nin: - Ama mancharichu. Ñucaca huarmita ricungapa ricuni - nina nin -, ñuca huarmita ricungapa ricuni. Canca ama mancharichu.

Shina rina nin rina nin rina nin almitahuan parlash parlash parlash: - Ñuca huarmi ricungapa ricuni. Ñuca huarmi juin ch'alli carca. Cunan shughuan cazaragricun. Chaitami ricungapa ricuni. Castigamungapa ricuni - nishpa ricuna nin maichari ña.

Shug ñanmanta ña quinrai huichai muyushpaca chai almitaca nina nin chai viajero runataca: - Ama richu. Caillami shamui. Cai ñan patallaman huichaicushun porque millai runacunami shamucun chaitaca - nina nin chai almitaca.

Chaimanta entonces pai huichaicush ña unaita shayacugpi ña judaicu runaca pasananiari ña. Runa aparishoa ña chai mismo ucullapita samarina nin. Samarigpi nina nin: - Ay! - nina nin.

Pero mana caja cana nin: solamante t'ulupi cana nin chai almitaca.

Chaipi 'ay!' nigpica ña imatacha nina nin. Pai ña ñan patapi shayacuna nin. Pero almitaca alli ladoman churash chai runituta, viajero runataca.

Shina ricuna nin ricuna nin ricuna nin ña maitachari pasashpa. Ña jatun yacu huaicuta pasash ñanta huichai ricushpa nina nin: - Ñucata c'ati. Jacu cai ñan pataman comoquierapish huichaicushpallami liocaluman - nish -, chaipimi semejante tropa enterito shamucun. Ñucanchitaca ima ruhuangami - nishpaca -, huichaicushun - nina nin -, liocaluman. Mana huichaicui valina nin chai runitu viajeroca. Ña almitachari aparish huichaicuna nin, liocalu puntaman huichaicuna nin. Ña unaita tiyacugpi paica manchanaimi urmana manchanai. Cutin huaira tangash shitana manchanai. Jahua punta liocalupi tiyacuna nin. Chaipi almita nina nin: - Ama mancharichu. Ni ama urmangui ni ima. Ñuca shitariichi-shallami, ñuca uracuchishallami - nina nin.

Shina ricugpi entonces ña ucu quinraitaca semejante caja ronca pasana nin: juin tucui laya luz, banda musica, ima flautas, ima, tucui laya pasana nin, juin bulla. Bulla pasana nin. Unaita pasash qu'ipa entonces jahua liocalumanta uraicuchina nin almitallata. Chai nina nin: - Todavía manara rishun. Porque cai paicuna rishcaca asufrilla mashna cunga - nina nin -, asufrilla mashna cunga, ñucanchita daño ruhuangami. Ashatahuan parashun - nishpashi tiyarinacuna. Parlo cana nin: ima shina mai purishoa, mai paica ña salvacionpi, paica tucui ima shina castigashoa, tucuita parlana nin juin. Tutayashoa parlana juin de una vez parlana nin chai runaman.

Chaimanta ña shina rina nin rina nin rina nin ña maipi cashpa chayashpaca nina nin: - Ñuca huarmica cazarashpami shamucunga. Canca rilla. Tupashpaca canta mana pi invitangachu. Chai acordeon maestropa huarmimi ninga: - 'jacu caserito, jacu compadre. Chaipi chayashpaca ñucaman imallata caragpi, uviachigpica, carman uviachishallami, carashallami, pasachishallami.' 'Jacu' nishpa pusharina nin. Ña chashna pusharina nin.

*Chai pi nina nin: - Ñuca chayashpaca castigashami - nina nin -, huarmi
castigashami. Pero ama huillanguichu, ama canca parlanguichu. Sichu
can parlagpica huillagpica cantami prezush shamuna - nina nin -,
cantami prezush shamunga. Canca ama huillangui, upallitu cangui,
upallitu. Sichu can huillagpica canrami joderingui - nina nin chai
almitaca.*

*Maipichari boda gente tupana nin. Boado gente tupashpaca pi mana ña
'jacu' nina nin. Ladota pasana nin. Chai acordeón maestropa huarmi
nina nin: - Jacu, casero, jacu cañarejito. Ñucaman imata caragpi,
imata uwiachigpica, carman pasachishallami - nina nin.
Chaimanta rina nin. Ña cocinaman e'atish yaicuna nin. Cocinapi
pacarina nin. Chai viajero runituca pacarishpa ña, farra ña juin
sueñuchingapa rinacuna nin, ña bailash, tucui juin.*

*Cayandi ña madrina padrino cuna jatarichingapa rigpica ima tiempo
chiriyashea cana nin. Ishaimanta ugllanacush sueñucushpa chiriyashea
nin. Ña chai pi bulla nin, juin alboroto nin ari: ¿ima shinata huañun?
¿ima shinata caica tucun? nishpa bulla. Chai rato comisarioman rina
nin. Comisario shamuna nin. Tiyashea boda genteca prezuchina nin
cancuna huañuchishcanguichi nishpa. Entonces como mana paicuna
huañuchishcanga, quiquin cusa shamush, almita shamushpachari ña,
sipirca nin, cunga rigtupi shug ñutu filito cuenta yaicurishca cashea
nin, verderyashea, chaishi entonces ña huañuchish saquina nin. Paitaca
comisario nin tucui chaicunaca pichoa cutinshi jurachina ari can
yachanguimi nishpa. Canca ricushcanguimi pi huañuchigta, pi chai
ruhuagtaca nishpa comisarioca. Utisiana nin, ni ima mana tarina nin.
Sanito y limpioshi cana. Solo cungapishi ashalla yahuar taririshca
nin, nada más. Chaillami ñuca cuentoca.*

The man who met an unquiet soul

I am going to tell you a story of the old days: there was once an Indian who used to get up before midnight to take letters on foot to Cuenca. He would get up before dawn and walk and walk. On one occasion he was going along through a narrow gully when he became frightened. When he looked behind him, he saw that the soul of a dead man was following him. The two fell in step and the Indian walked along with the soul. As they walked along together, "Don't be afraid," said the soul, "I am going to see my wife. Don't you be frightened. When I was alive she was very unfaithful, and now she is going to get married again. I am going to punish her." Thus the soul talked as they went along, who knows where.

At one place the soul turned off the road and climbed up a steep bank to the side: "Don't go that way," he told the Indian, "come along this way. Let's climb up onto the side of the road for the devils are coming along the main path." So the traveller followed suit. He climbed up the bank and as he stood there a long while, sure enough, a devil came by on the road. He was carrying a condemned soul, not in a coffin but simply in a sack. From inside the sack the body could be heard to moan. As it moaned, the traveller just stood there on the bank above the road. But the unquiet soul had placed him on his right-hand side, so he was safe.

And so they walked on and on. Who knows what paths they must have taken, until they entered a steep-sided gorge where a river ran. As they went up this path, the soul said: "You follow me. Let's get off

the road as best we can by climbing a eucalyptus tree. A whole group of devils are due to pass through this way. They might do us harm."

So saying, the soul suggested they climb a eucalyptus tree. But the traveller couldn't climb it. Perhaps the soul carried him up to the top branches of the tree, for there he found himself and there he stayed for a long while: terrified firstly of falling out of the tree, and then frightened that the wind might blow him out. There they both were at the top of the tree: "Don't fear, you won't fall down, I shall hold onto you and then I shall carry you down again," the soul reassured him.

As they were watching, there came a procession of devils along the narrow slope that led through the gorge. They carried with them the *caja ronea* and torches with flames of all colours. Some of them played on musical instruments: flutes and so on. They passed by making a tremendous noise. Some time after they had gone by, the soul himself brought the Indian down from the eucalyptus tree: "We won't go on just yet," he said, "they have left sulphur in their wake and it could harm us. Let's wait here a while."

So saying, they stood there together. The soul talked to the traveller, telling him how he had been to heaven, how he had punished the living, of many things. As he stood there talking, darkness fell.

After that they went on their way, arriving who knows where. "My wife will come this way after her wedding. You just go with the wedding party. When you meet them, not one of them will invite you to join them, but then the accordeonist's wife will say: 'Come on, friend, come on, *compadre*. When we get there I will share any food and drink they give me with you. Let's go'. And she will take you along. When she takes you along to the house, I'll come too. And that's when I'll punish my wife. But you mustn't say a word to anyone. If you tell anyone about me, you instead will be taken prisoner. So keep silent or you will put yourself in danger."

The unquiet soul advised the Indian with these words.

And so it was: along the way, the Indian met up with the wedding party. As they met up, not one person invited him to join in. They passed by without a word. But then the accordeonist's wife said: "Come along, friend, come along, *Cañarejito*. Whatever they give me to eat and drink, I shall share it with you."

And so he went with her. When they arrived, he followed the party into the kitchen, and there he spent the night. The bride and groom were there and there was much drinking and dancing until they grew tired and retired to sleep.

The next morning, the wedding godparents went to get the bridal pair out of bed. They found them stone dead, locked in a cold embrace. Then there was a great uproar, everybody wondering how they had died. So they went to the police station to report the matter. Then a police officer came. All the wedding guests were taken prisoner under accusation of murder. But of course they hadn't killed the couple at all, but the soul of the woman's own dead husband had entered the room, had strangled them with a sort of green cord, and had left them dead. The police inspector interrogated each person five times, trying to discover who had witnessed the murder. An autopsy was held but no evidence could be found. The bodies were sound and healthy. All that could be detected was a little trace of blood on their necks, nothing else. That's my story.

same as for Tale 15, plus:

| | |
|------------|--|
| E363.3 | Ghost warns the living |
| G303.4.8.1 | Devil has sulphurous odour |
| D996.0.1.1 | Magic power of right hand for good |
| E752.1.1 | Devil hunts souls |
| G303.15 | Places haunted by devil |
| E221 | Dead spouses malevolent return |
| E234 | Ghost punishes injury received in life |
| E234.0.1 | Ghost returns to demand vengeance |
| E230 | Return from dead to inflict punishment |
| Q241 | Adultery punished |
| Z145 | Symbolic colour: green |

Tale 17: El alma desasosegada

De ahí los viajeros antes dicen que se encontraban con el diablo y con el alma también. Por ejemplo una vez que se muere un marido. Cuando estaban viviendo siempre es que sabían preguntar ambos: - Si yo me muero, ¿qué pasarías tú? - díz que sabían decir, ¿no? Entonces que la mujer díz que decía: - Yo moriría igual - díz que decía -, me fuera igual.

Siempre decían eso, ¿no? Una vez se llegó a morir el marido. La noche en que se enterró, entonces le llegó no más el marido, que ya quería llevar: - Tú dijiste que vas igual conmigo. La mujer díz que corría así, nada. Le amanecía teniendo de los brazos, así. Ya cerca del amanecer se desapareció. Todas las noches pasaba así, dicen. Entonces se iba a alguna parte, corriendo. Nada. Se iba a los montes, peor. No dejaba, queriendo llevar a ella también, diciendo: - Vamos, como dijiste que vas a ir igual conmigo. Como decías que vas a ir igual conmigo.

Todas las veces solo así. De ahí la mujer se volvió a la calamidad. Entonces que vivía una hermana lejos, ¿no? Entonces una vez se ha querido ir allá, ¿no? Donde que está la hermana. Cuando llega el alma, el marido, (ella ha salido), entonces ha tenido una faja, ¿no? Ahora no acostumbra la faja. Entonces cuando seguía molestando a ella en la casa diciendo: - Vamos, vamos y vamos. Entonces ella díz que hacía tener la faja, la punta de la faja. Entonces se desenvolvía poquito a poquito, poquito a poquito. Entonces se salió; avanzó salir. Entonces el alma quedó teniendo así la faja. El quedó adentro. Ella corrió donde la hermana. ¿Qué es lo que pasa? Entonces el alma ya sintió pues no lo que ya no vuelve, entonces seguramente se largó, empezó a seguir atrás. Cuando está siguiendo decía, ya el alma andaba rápido tal vez, entonces avanzó a coger, pues no. Cuando iba a avanzar a coger se metió en un monte, puro espinos, se metió adentro. Entonces él también quería seguir atrás, entrar ahí. Entonces díz que metía la mano: - Ayauuu! - es que decía. Por el otro lado: - Ayauuu! - Que diciendo: - Vamos! Que salga! Pero él no podía meterse en los espinos. Entonces yalo que iba a amanecer, iba a aclararse, entonces se desapareció. Por fin, a las muchas veces, entonces ya llegó donde la hermana. Entonces llegando donde la hermana díz que decía: - Oye, hermana, ¿me hicieras el favor de visitar mi casa? Ahí quedan mis animalitos: cuys, gatos, perros quedan ahí botado todo. Diciendo eso se murió. En la casa de la hermana. Ese molestaba díz que como un año.

The unquiet soul

They say that in the old days travellers would meet with the devil, and with spirits too. For example, once a woman's husband died. When he was alive, they would always ask each other: "If I die, what would you do?"

And the woman would say: "I will die with you. I would go with you." They always said that, right? Then the husband died. The night he was buried, his soul came to the wife and said: "You said you would go with me."

And the woman ran away, but to no avail. All night he held her in his arms like this, and then as dawn came he disappeared. That would happen every night, they say. She would run away but it was no good. She would run to the forests, but she couldn't escape him. He wouldn't leave her alone, wanting to carry her away with him, and saying: "Come on, you said you would go with me."

Again and again the same thing happened and the woman became more and more troubled. One day she wanted to go to her sister's house, who lived far away. At that moment her husband's soul arrived. Now the woman was wearing a *faja*, you know? Nowadays the women don't wear a *faja*. Well, as her husband continued to annoy her saying: "Come on, come on," she gave him the end of the *faja* to hold. Then she gradually unwound herself from it and managed to escape. The soul just stood there holding the end of the *faja* while his wife ran to her sister's house. What happened next? Well, the soul then realised that she wasn't coming back, so he must have made after her. He caught up with her very quickly and as he did so she entered a clump of very thorny bushes. He wanted to follow her in but he put in his hand and cried: "Ouch!" And then the other one: "Ouch!"

All the while he was crying: "Come on! Come out of there!"

But he couldn't enter the thorn bushes. Then dawn began to break and he disappeared. At last, after this had happened many times, the woman arrived at her sister's house and asked her sister: "Will you do me the favour of visiting my house? My animals are abandoned there; my guinea-pigs, dogs, and cats."

So saying, she died there in her sister's house. They say that that soul troubled her for about a year.

Informant: GGG, 28th October, 1976

some as for Tales 15 and 16, plus:

- M254 Promise to be buried with spouse if she/he dies first
- E265.3 Meeting ghost causes death
- E266 Dead carry off living
- K500 Escape from death or danger by deception
- E452 Ghost laid at cockcrow
- E452.1 Dead quiescent during day
- E415 Dead cannot rest until certain work is finished

Tale 18: *Causarishoa huarmica*

Huañuna nin shug huarmi. Nucanchi cuñadopa tía cana nin. Huañushoa nin ishcai punzhata y causarishcarca. Manara enterragpi causarishcarca. Pero chaimi parlashca nin paicuna: ña ricurcami nin huasi ucumanta llugshishpa alli lado huasi esquinamanta ricugpica shug vida ñanca ricurishca nin. Chaipi tiyarishpaca rinalla nin chaíta c'atishpa. Chai ñampi yaicushpaca. Chaimanta ña ahecata rishpa tupana nin shug pallea ñan. Ishcai ñan: shugca sumag ñan, shugca chushag casha junda quichqui ñan. Entonces chai quichqui ñan y chai ancho sumag ñan chugpipi shug santo tupana nin. Chai shuti cana nin Santa Rosa. Chai

tupashpa nina nin: - Caitami camba ñanca, Ri caita - nishpa.

Chaimanta chai quichqui ñanta ricush, achca yacunaita charina nin, Yacunaita charishpaca rina nin, Yacu ricurina nin ashallitu, tuma yacu. Pero chai yacuca ashalla corricun nin tumata. Chai corricug yacutaca paica uviasha nina nin, Yacunayan pero mana imahuan huishi valin nin, Entonces urai singa sirish uviasha nin, pero mana pudin. Yacu ashtahuan ucuyashpa rina nin. Mana pagtan. Entonces ucuyash rigpi mana imashina uviagpi, paica shug yurag alleuta c'uyashcata charina nin, Yurag alleuca rinripi yacuta huishishpa uviachishca nin paiman, Chai rinripi yacuta huishish uviachig ña aviashpa rinalla nin chashna.

Ña chaimanta ricuna nin maipichari shug alfa chagra, qu'ihuata. Chai Chagrapica parcuricun nin chushag leche shina yranlla yacuhuan. Chai leche laya yacuhuan parcuricugpica chai shug tupag, chai Santa Rosa-huan cag shug uchilla huarmi huambra tupashca nin, Chaica ña ricuchin nin: - Caica camba mamapa lechemi - nishca nin -, camba mamapa lechemi - nishca nin.

Chaitapish pasarin nin. Shugpi ricurin nin semejante huagracuna, yana huagracuna. Chai huagracuna nina nin macanacucun nin ishcaita. Chaicuna samanacushpa samanacushpa macanacucun nin. Chaicuna nin, chai huambra huillan nin: - Chaicunaca huauquindi huasi ucu familiandi macanacucunami nin. Cutin chaista pasashpa rin nin. Chaimanta ricurin nin malva chagra, achca malva. Chaipi cutin chuya yacuhuan parcurin nin. Chaica nina nin: - Camba mama huacashca huiquimi - nishca nin. Shina huillashca: - Camba mama huacashca huiquimi caica.

Chashna pasrin nin shug hacienda pungu cashca nin. Chai hacienda pungupica shug semejante yana negro rina almacunata balansapi pesacun nin chashna. Entonces majan almataca haciendamanta ucuman shitan nin. Majantaca agchamanta japish canshaman shitacun nin pesashpa. Paihuan tupangapa rin nin chai negroca chai huarmihuan. Pai nina nin: - Ñucaca piman mana imata debinichu. ¿Imatata nishpa jizilla shamucungui ñucata japiringapa?

Chaipi mana imata ruhuash cutirin.

Chaimanta chashna chayana nin ña shug iglesiapi. Ña tucui chaista pasarishpa. Chai iglesiapi chayagpica achca cantorcuna, andascuna, achca mayoral, mayordomo llugshinouna fiestapi, Corpuspi. Tucui chaicuna ricurishca nin. Chai ricurishpaca nin chaicunapi entonces cantacushca nin cantota iglesia ucupi. Chaipica nina nin: - Ñucapish cantanata yachanimi - nishpa -, chai picheca (mana yachnichu imachá) misterios nishcata cantarcani - nin -, chai picheca misteriosa cantashpa entonces pasagrigrini - nin -, altar mayorman. Chaipica entonces jarcan nin chashna quimsa dedota ricuchishpa. Chaipi nin cutichish cachashca nin.

Chaimanta shamuna nin cutin cutish chashnallata. Ima shinami rircani chashnallata chai ñanta cutimuna nin. Maipica malvas chagra, ima alfa chagra, ricuna nin shinallata hacienda pungu, mismo ima shina rishca chashnallata cutimuna nin huasiman. Huasiman chayana cercapica paica cicushca nin achca gentecuna puricushca nin achca. Caiman corricun nin, chaiman corricun nin. Entonces pai nina nin: - ¿Imatata ruhuash ñuca huasipi cai mundo gentecunaca? - nin.

Entonces: - Mana ima cashcata cerca nin imata ruhuash chai mundo gente ñuca huasipi puricun.

Chaimantashi manchaimanchari chayarina nin huasiman. Huasiman chutaracun nin, Chaipi pai nina nin: - ¿Pita caipica jizi tucushpa siricunchu

imatari? - nina nin,

*Bueno chaimanta ucuman yaicugrina nin, Alli alli sentigpica paillata
siricushoa cana nin. Siricush tucurca!*

The woman who revived from the dead

There was once a woman who died. She was my brother-in-law's aunt. She was dead and unburied for two days, then she revived. But this is how they told the story: she left the house setting off from the right-hand corner and taking a road of life that appeared there before her. She set out along that road. After she had walked for a long time she came to a fork in the road. From there on there were two roads: one beautiful, the other narrow and thorny. At the junction of the narrow road and the beautiful wide road, she met a saint. This saint's name was Saint Rose. As they met, the saint spoke: "This is your road. Go this way."

So as she made her way along the narrow road, she felt very thirsty. She came to an irrigation channel where there flowed a little water and she wanted to drink from it. She was so thirsty but she had nothing in which to collect the water. So she lay face down in an attempt to reach the water, but still she couldn't. The water was flowing too far below her and she couldn't reach it. Now she had with her a very faithful white dog, and the white dog collected water in its ears and gave her to drink. The dog gave her to drink by collecting water in its ears, then having drunk went on its way.

After that the woman came to a field of alfalfa grass. The field was being irrigated with whitish water that looked like milk. As she stood by the field being watered with milky liquid, there appeared a young girl alongside Saint Rose. She indicated the field, saying: "This is your mother's milk, this is your mother's milk."

Then she passed by that place also. In another place there appeared two black bulls fighting together. They were fighting together, stopping to catch their breath, then fighting some more. The young girl said of them: "They are fighting between brothers, within the family." Again she passed by on her way. Then she came to a field of *malva*. There the field was being watered with clear water. The young girl said: "Those are your mother's tears." That is what she told her: "Those are the tears your mother wept."

In this way they passed on until they came to the gate of a *hacienda*. In the doorway of the *hacienda* there was a big black man weighing the souls of the dead on a pair of scales. As he weighed them he would throw some of them inside the *hacienda* and others he would take by their hair and toss them outside. The negro came forward to meet the woman, but she addressed him: "I owe nothing to anybody. Why are you coming forward smiling, with the intention of capturing me?" Whereupon the negro went back to his place without doing anything.

Next she arrived at a church, after passing all those places. When she arrived at the church she saw a crowd of choristers, litters bearing holy images, and people dressed up as *hacienda* bosses come out in the Corpus Christi processsion. They all appeared before her. As they appeared, at that moment they began to sing a chant inside the church. Then the woman said: "I too know how to sing the five mysteries as they are called (I don't know what that might be - narrator). If I sing the five mysteries then I shall go up to the high altar." But then the people blocked her way pointing at her with three fingers. And they sent her back the way she had come.

So she came back just the same way she had gone. Just as she had gone, she came back; passing the *malva* field, the alfalfa field, the gateway of the *hacienda*. She came home by the very same route. As she drew near to her house she saw a crowd of people running back and forth. She asked herself: "Why is there such a crowd of people at my house?"

And then she thought: "There is no reason for such a crowd of people to be wandering about my house like that."

Then she must have approached her house in a state of fear. When she arrived at the house she stood in the doorway. From where she stood she could see a corpse laid out in the room. She said to herself:

"What joker is it lying there, or what is going on?"

Then she went to enter the room. Slowly reality returned and it was she herself who was laid out a corpse. She was laid out in the end!

Informant: GGG, 5th November, 1976

| | |
|------------|---|
| D996.0.1.1 | Magic power of right-hand for good |
| F57.1 | Narrow road to heaven |
| N848 | SAint as helper |
| V223.1 | Saint gives advice |
| B421 | Helpful dog |
| E751.1 | Souls weighed at Judgment Day |
| A671.1 | Doorkeeper of hell |
| V70 | Religious feasts |
| E722 | Soul leaves body at death |
| E750.2 | Perilous path for soul to world of dead |
| E752.1 | Soul in jeopardy after leaving body |
| N681.0.1 | Return home to one's own funeral |
| E750.1 | Souls wander after death |

Commentary

1.0 Narrative structure

1.1 Tale 15

| Tale 15: <i>El viajero que se encontró con un alma</i> | | | |
|--|---------|--|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | man dies, his wife remains alive | 1 |
| | i | traveller (H) is on way down to Cuenca | 2 |
| | ii | H meets husband's soul on road | 3 |
| | iii | they travel on together | 4 |
| | iv | soul protects H from bandits | 6 |
| | v | they continue to Cuenca & return | 2 |
| | vi | soul protects H from bandits again | 6 |
| II | vii | soul asks H to wife's house to help her in <i>minga</i> next day | 4 |
| | viii | soul offers H chicha and asperses some on ground to protect from <i>mal viento</i> | 4/6 |
| | ix | H helps soul's wife in work; same recurs many times | 6 |

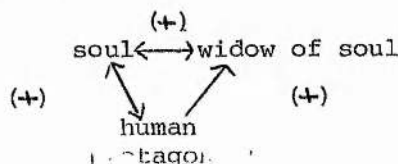
The relationship between H and the non-human agent is here based on the principles of mutual exchange that underlie many of the social institutions and customs of the Quichua - the *minga* among them. The protection afforded the hero figure by the soul in Move I, is repayed in Move II, when the hero shifts to the rôle of mediator and assists the soul's wife. A closer look at the pattern of this relationship will show the similarities between this and other legends in the section.

Due to the fulfillment of the obligation of hero towards soul, it is understood that he is able to return safely home after his experience. He is not made to pay the debt with his life or health as was the case, for example, in Tale 1. This tale is connected to the belief system in that it reflects the popular conception that the souls of the dead will wander abroad preoccupied by some unfulfilled task or promise which still binds them to the world of the living: in this case the preoccupation is with the bereaved wife's difficulty at

finding herself left alone to manage the daily work load. The soul now belongs to another sphere to that of his widow and employs an intermediary to act on his behalf between the two spheres. Thus a triangular relationship is established, as was the case with the devil legends. A close similarity can be noticed between Move I of this text and the Group (i) devil legends. Tale 9 is similar even to the point of containing an episode whereby the devil protects the hero from bandits by the wayside. The two tales were in fact told by the same informant, 9 following 15, and the compatibility of their narrative patterns probably encouraged the recurrence of the episode from one tale to the other.

Developments in Move II cause the underlying meaning of this tale to differ from that of the Group (i) devil narratives, however. There, the progress of the narrative centred around the human hero, and the possibility of his profiting from the encounter. In tales involving encounter with a soul, it would seem that these are ultimately oriented towards the soul protagonist and his efforts to derive profit from his relationship with the living. Thus Move II shows how the soul uses the human hero to his advantage. Tale 16 contains a comparable sequence of events. Tale 18 is narrated entirely from the viewpoint of the soul protagonist. This significant variation of the by now familiar journey framework of the local legend may be explained if we take the function of such tales to be the expression of anxieties on the part of the living towards the dead, and their fear of offending them through neglect or some other oversight.

The triad of relationships set up in Tale 15 between the the three protagonists, showing the shift of human hero to the mediator 'slot', can be shown as follows:



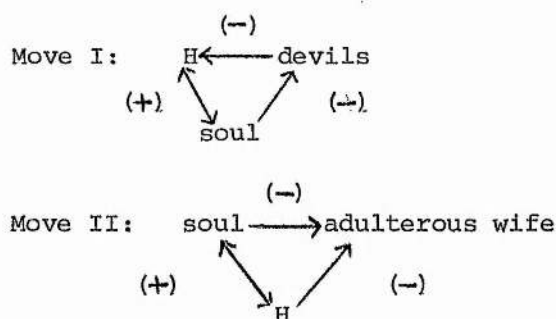
It should also be borne in mind that while the soul can act as protector of the living, as he did in Move I, he is also a potential threat, capable of causing illness in those who come into contact with him if he is not well-disposed towards them. The fact that the human protagonist in this tale obeys the laws of reciprocity accounts for the positive relationships established between the actors. The ambiguity in the character of the souls of the dead gives them a cognitive affinity with the devil in the local belief system; it has been seen, for example, that the devil also may cause *huairashoa* in those who encounter him. The affinity is so strong that the two personages take up rôles in tales whose narrative patterns are closely comparable.

1.2 Tale 16

| Tale 16: <i>Almahuan tupashoa runamanta</i> | | | |
|---|---------|---|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | mail carrier on way to Cuenca at night | 1/2 |
| | i | mail carrier (H) meets soul on road | 3 |
| | ii | they travel on together | 4 |
| | iii | soul protects H from party of devils that passes by | 6 |
| II | iv | soul asks H to go with wedding party of his widow and her lover | 4 |
| | v | H joins wedding party | 6 |
| | vi | next morning bridal pair found dead, killed by soul | |

Several of the points made for Tale 15 apply to this text also; the journey - encounter sequence is again responsible for the development of the narrative; again the relationship between hero and non-human agent is a mutually reciprocal one. The hero responds to the soul's request that he should act as a 'front' while the latter carries out the murder of his faithless wife, in return for the protection he had been afforded in Move I. This leads again to a shift in function of

the human protagonist from hero position to that of mediator. The differing attitudes of traveller and soul from one move to the next can be formalized by these triads:



So it is seen again that as long as humans treat the inhabitants of the non-human world according to accepted moral and social rules, they will come to no harm; in this code of behaviour the principle of reciprocity is paramount.

1.3 Tale 17

| Tale 17: <i>El alma desasosegada</i> | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------|--|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | husband and wife promise to follow each other to death; husband dies | 1 |
| | i | husband's soul returns to haunt wife who has not kept promise | 3 |
| | ii | wife escapes to her sister's house | 2 |
| | iii | soul pursues her | 3 |
| | iv | wife evades him by trick with <i>faja</i> | 9a |
| | v | she escapes into thorn bush | |
| | vi | dawn breaks and he disappears | 6 |
| | vii | woman asks sister to care for her livestock | |
| | viii | she dies, claimed by soul of husband | 9b |

The assignment of functions for this legend shows that the pattern differs from the customary journey-encounter sequence. Although repeated encounters take place between the woman and the soul of her dead husband, the emphasis of the tale lies in the theme of the unkept promise - an element of which was also seen in Tale 16.

This same theme forms the initial situation in Tale 31, a borrowed migratory tale. Whether there has been influence and in

which direction it occurred is a matter for speculation. As with Tales 15 and 16, the structure of this narrative read at the level of the relationships between the actors can be seen to describe a triangular process in which the dead husband and his living wife are set up in opposition to each other, in a negative relationship deriving from the wife's failure to keep her word. Such is the power of the soul over the faithless woman that the latter's attempts to use a third party, her sister, as mediator and protectress fail and she finally succumbs. It is an interesting reflection of the belief system that she makes preparation for death by consigning the care of her animals to her sister, so that concern for them will not follow her beyond this life.

1.4 Tale 18

| Tale 18: <i>Causarishoa huarmica</i> | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------|---|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | soul of dead woman (H) 'revives' after 2 days | 1 |
| | i | H sets out on journey | 2 |
| | ii | arrives at fork in road where saint directs her | 3/6 |
| | iii | white dog helps her fetch water | 2/3 |
| | iv | sees fields irrigated with mother's milk | |
| | v | sees 2 bulls fighting | |
| | vi | sees field irrigated with mother's tears | |
| | vii | passes entrance to hell (<i>hacienda</i>) | 7 |
| II | viii | comes to church where she is warded off | 2 |
| | ix | returns home by same route | |
| | x | arrives home to witness her own wake | 9d |

The focus of this tale is entirely on the soul as protagonist or hero figure. There are many features of content which set it apart from the others: it is rich in motifs not found elsewhere in the collection, many of which it is not possible at this stage to interpret or explain. Underlying this content, however, it is possible to trace the same pattern as found in other legends: journey → encounter →

arrival at other world → return. Curiously, here we look at the progress of events as if from the other side of the mirror; instead of following the path of a human protagonist to the non-human world and back, here we follow the route of a non-human protagonist (soul) to the world of the living and back to the world beyond - death. This explanation accounts for her arrival at the church where she is rejected by the congregation - apparently living -, for as a soul prior to burial she is potentially dangerous to those with whom she comes into contact. Her route takes her past the entrance to hell, and it is presumably her freedom from sin that permits her to pass on unhindered. Just in the same way are living human protagonists allowed to visit hell and return from it unscathed in some of the devil legends, for example. Tale 18 could be seen in the following terms as an inversion of some of the devil legends - Group (i) in particular:

Group (i) devil legends : Tale 18

| | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|
| human protagonist | : non-human protagonist |
| journeys from this world | : journeys from other world to |
| to other world | this world (church) |
| is threatened | : threatens the living |
| is saved | : is rejected |
| returns to this world | : returns to body for funeral |

The soul legends with human protagonists - 15 and 16 in particular - might also fit into this scheme, as following a pattern akin to that of the Group (i) devil legends. The present text should not be oversimplified for the sake of comparisons, however. The above scheme of oppositions does not take into account that the soul in Tale 18 also encounters non-human mediators - Santa Rosa and the negro doorman - who represent the spheres of heaven and hell respectively. This tale is more complex than any examined so far: the soul protagonist on its journey explores the possibilities of heaven, hell, and this world

in turn before returning to the body for burial and final integration into the world beyond life.

Whilst still on the subject of the narrative pattern, it should be noted that the journey of the soul to the other world is a common framework for Andean oral narrative. In many cases, an encounter with a non-human agent is put down to the altered state of consciousness of the protagonist: he/she may be drunk, asleep, or ill. The wanderings of the 'soul' are a corollary to this. In the comparative material we find, for example, an Imbabura text: 'Led astray by a spirit', in which the drunken protagonist thinks herself to have been carried away by a *duende*, and during their journey to have passed through 8 stages, each marked by a change in the physical environment and the appearance of new features such as certain animals, which constitute the tale's motifs. There is a remarkable structural similarity with Tale 18, notable for the stage by stage progress of the soul protagonist. (Parsons op.cit.135-136) GS/SA/4: '*Almaguna pailabi timbuchishecamanda*' describes a journey to the other world allegedly made by the narrator's father when he was uncounscious due to severe sickness. He reached the 'Señor Jesús', who told him to return home as he had not yet been called for. One is reminded here also of Tale 4, where the hero pays a gratuitous visit to hell, also in the charge of 'taita Diosito', when suffering after a bad accident. (1)

2.0 The content of the tales

As legends, these are closely linked to the belief system of the area, and different texts focus on different aspects of it. To take Tale 18 first, as the most complex of the four: there exists a belief that the soul of a person due to die is apt to leave the body during sleep and retrace its steps, visiting old haunts as if in farewell. Dogs are thought to have the power of perceiving such spirits and their reluctant howling is interpreted as an augur of death. (2) The rôle

of the dog as guide to the soul after death is not as common in Cañar lore as elsewhere in the Andes, (3) although the white dog here clearly performs that function. Equally, the wandering of the soul in the period between death and burial was less commonly referred to, although in this tale it is at that stage that the soul sets out on its journey. The tale can thus be seen as the literary expression of the commonly held belief in the wandering of souls from the body. The same concept found expression in Tales 15-17, which likewise explored the theme of contrast and conflict between life and death, between the living and the dead, and the reluctance of the latter to come to terms with their new state.

While I cannot offer interpretations for many of the motifs in this tale, there is comparative data which serves to show they are a part of the wider system of narrative traditions in the area: the narrow road and the wide road referred to in the text are evidently the roads to heaven and hell respectively, as GS/CA/11 makes more explicit:

"Cieloman huichicuna, cieloman rina ñampish puro casha manachu can puro huin palo ninchiñ cai llajta... Ima mundo jero cana nin, huin manchashpa mana purin nin chai Diospaman rina ñanca. Chai malignos chai judaspaman rina ñanca ima mundo carretero nin. Cunan cai carretero haga nishpa nin, brillashpa nin, sumai mana rucu."

"The path that goes up to heaven is full of thorns and sticks we say here... Its a very difficult path, very frightening and hard to walk, the path to God's place. The path to the devils' or Judases' place is a big road. They say it shines and is a very beautiful road."

The Parsons text from Imbabura already referred to contains a remark in keeping with this idea:

"This time she was aware of a very kind man who carried her by a pretty and wide path with flowers on either side, and the ground seemed to be of glass (she says that the path to hell is like that; and to go to heaven it is a path of thorns." (loc.cit.)

Fock also documented this belief for Juncal;

"Thus the road to the other world is depicted as a path that bifurcates into a right and a left branch; that on the right leads to heaven and that on the left leads to hell,.
(1976:7-8)

He goes on to comment on the association between right and left and upper and lower in Juncalese world view, categories which extend from the geographical to the social sphere in the native classification system.

References to right (*alli lado*) and left (*lluqui lado*) are frequent in the present collection: the heroine in Tale 18 sets out on her journey from the right-hand corner of the house; EDC commented that *almitas* will pass you by on the right, and devils on the left; note how the *almita* in Tale 16 makes the hero stand on his right as the devils go past; GGG described how an unseen being gripped his father's left arm when he was suffering from *huairashca*. In ritual also the right-hand takes precedence: the right-hand flank of the Corpus Christi procession carries such prestige that its organizers are bribed with food and drink to allow participants a place there. Right and left may also correspond to male and female: in the Mass at Sigsihuaicu, the congregation divided so that men sat on the right and women on the left.(4)

With reference now to the tales as a group: additional data illustrates further popular concepts regarding the souls of the dead. The *alma condenado* is the soul of a man who committed incest, the most serious form of which is that between *compadres* (JSA, EDC, GGG, MJA). There is little else in common, however, with the carnivorous, fire-breathing monster of the same name so richly described in some of the Peruvian material. (5) Cañar informants described them as relatively harmless spirits of the dead that come back to places they have frequented in life to seek out some money or other item they might have

hidden, whose whereabouts they feel a need to communicate to their survivors (GGG). EDC made a clear distinction between the *condenado* and the *almita*, the latter being the unquiet soul, not guilty of sin, but unable to rest in peace due to some unfinished task. (6) The souls in hell in Tale 4, however, send back messages to their bereaved out of that same need.

A relationship between these tales and a wider framework of narrative tradition can also be seen: Tale 17, it was suggested, contains a theme to be found also in Tale 31, which is recognizable as a variant of A-T612. At the same time, the theme of burial of spouse with the dead was not alien to Andean ritual in former times: Cieza de León recorded how wives of *caciques* would be buried with their husbands, (7) and Parsons noted ritual suicidal intent at the graveside as recently as 1945 (op.cit.79). (8) Tale 17 also contains remnants of motifs associated with the Andean version of D672 'Obstacle Flight' - discussed fully in sub-section (g). The escape by unwinding from the *faja* belongs there: Morote Best gives a summary of Argüedas's text from Jauja, where the heroine escaping from her *condenado* lover persuades him to hold on to the end of her *faja* as he enters a lake; when he is well advanced into the water she cuts herself free (1958a; 804, cites Argüedas 1953:151-153). In the same connection the motif of the woman's escape into a thorn bush may be derived from the same tradition, where frequently the heroine throws down an obstacle which becomes a bush of thorns in the pursuer's path. Most typically in the Andes the 'Obstacle Flight' sequence is found in the context of flight from a *condenado* lover, so it could well be that this text is an abbreviated and simplified relative of that tradition. Elsewhere in this collection it is found in the context of flight from devil-spouse (Tale 24), which further illustrates the interchangeability of the actors within rôles or structural 'slots' that remain constant.

FOOTNOTES

(1) a notable comparison in the wider context can be made with a text collected in Ayacucho, Peru, where the informant describes her stage-by-stage journey to hell while very sick; 'Our Lord' sent her back 'as he was not ready for her (Zuidema and Quispe 1973:367).

(2) guinea-pigs, owls (*cuscungu*), and doves (*urpi*) are also thought to be endowed with this power and reveal it in certain patterns of behaviour; such animals are referred to as '*brujacuna*'.

(3) "it is believed that one should treat one's dogs kindly, since once dead they can help their former owner on its journey to the land of the dead." (Zuidema and Quispe op.cit.); cf. Nufiez del Prado (O.) (1952:2) where the same idea is mentioned.

(4) cf. Hertz's essay on the pre-eminence of the right hand (1960).

(5) Argüedas has published texts of 46 *condenado* tales from Jauja and Concepción (1953:127-193); see also Morote Best (1958a:828ff.).

(6) Guevara has entries under "*Alma en pena*"; "*Alma que se escapa del cuerpo*"; "*Alma que recoge los pasos*", all of which corroborate the Cañar evidence (1972:75,77); see also Carvalho-Neto (1966:82), and Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales (1961,1966), for similar references to beliefs in *almas*, including the idea that they can cause sickness in those that come into contact with them.

(7) "*a los difuntos los metían en las sepulturas de la suerte que hacían sus comarcanos, acompañados de mujeres vivos.*" (1853:398)

(8) see also Gifford and Hoggarth for Peruvian reference to ritual suicidal intent at the graveside (1975: 75); they also document evidence on the *condenado* (op.cit. 101).

Section A sub-section (d): Tales of the *cuichi*

Text

Tale 19: *Solterahuan Cuichihuan*

Shug soltera cana nin. Juin urcupi urcupi urcupi urcupi michina nin. Misaman mana shamuna nin. Ni ima puebloman, ni maiman mana shamuna nin chai soltera. Juin solo urcupi ovejacuna nin, huagracuna nin, bestiacuna nin michina nin urcullapi. Mamacuna nin, yaya nina nin: - Ri, huambra, ri misaman.

Nigpi mana uyana nin mana misaman shamusha nishpa. Solo urcupi michina nin, juin. Cada punzha ureuman, ureuman, ureuman. Shinacushpalla ña misaman ni mai mana shamuna nin chai solteraca solo urcupi mishishpa.

Chaiipi shug compañeracuna nina nin: - Juin urcupimi shug novio tiyan. Noviomí tiyan urcupi: shug punzhaca puca punchu, shug punzhaca claro punchu, shug punzhaca verde punchu juin purin chai mozoca. Chaimi juin purin urcupi chapash - nina nin.

Chaiptica nina nin chai mamacu: - Ñuca lungata reparamush cungi. Ricush cungi. Mana lungaman ima pasanga, ima tucunga - nina nin.

Chaiptica chai lungacunaca nina nin: - Mana, chai urcupi juinmi purin chai mozoca. Shug punzhaca shug punchu, shug punzhaca shug punchu juin purin alaja sucu moxitomi. Alaja carca, alaja moxitomi - nina nin.

Chaiptica ña shina shug punzhaca, shug chishica manchayana nin juin ovejacuna nin, huagracuna nin, bestiacuna nin. Juin manchayana nin. Ña chaimanta cayandica manchayagpica tapuna nin chai compañera huambracunaman. Chaipecuna nina nin: - Mana, chai mozomi aparishcangacha. Mozo juin shug punzhaca shug punchu, shug punzhaca shug punchu juin purig cashca. Sucu mozo juin puricureca. Chaimi aparishcanga mana ima. Cunan caina punzha mana compañarishcanichu paihuanca. Chaimi aparishcanga - nishpa nina nin.

Mana yayacuna tapuna nin: - Mana shamun, mana imana. Caina michingapa rishpa mana shamun. ¿Ima nishpata mana uyarín? - nishpa caya madrugada rina nin ricungapa animalcunata urcupi. Urcupi ricungapa rigpi, jahua lomaman llugshigpica, chai jahua pugru urcu ugsha cana nin tiempo urcu lomaman llugshigpica jahua pugru pambapica semejante cuichi ahuaricuna nin juin. Puro chichi chugpipi cana nin ovejacuna, huagracuna, bestiacuna cana nin. Chaimanta shina ovejacunata huacash amuna nin, bestiacunata, tucui animalcunata ñugpachish shamuna nin mama yayacunaca.

Ña chashnacushpa ña semana tucuna nin. Chashnacush ishcai semana tucuna nin. Chashnacush quimsa tucuna nin. Shinacush ña quilla tucuna nin, ña mana taririna nin. Juin huacash mamacunaca puricuna nin: - Ñuca huahua mana shamun - nish

Shinacush sugta quilla tucuna nin. Shinacush ña canchis, pusag quilla tucuna, ña huata tucuna nin. Ña mana taririna nin solteritalla ureuman rishpa ña ureumantaca.

Na cashna ña huata yallipi shamushca nin soltera yaya mamata visitangapa nina nin. Cusaca: - Ri visitamugri, ri ricumungui cambia yaya mamata - nina nin.

Chaiipi yaya mamapaman shamushca carca. Solteraca shamuna nin huata yallipi. Shamushpaca ña huahuayu shamuna nin. Huahua aparishca, chai cuichi-pa churita aparishpa shamuna nin. Chaimantaca nina nin yaya mama: - ¿Maimantata shamunguiyari? Huacacurcanicari. ¿Maipita carcanguichi? ¿Imatami mana shamunguicari? - nina nin. Chaiptica nina nin: - Ña visitangapa shamunicari ña. Taiticu mamita ricunaman shamunicari pero - nina nin.

Chaimanta: - Ricushun ñuca nietata rigsisha - nina nin.

Chaimantaca nina nin: - Mana, 'mana ricuchichun' nirca. Cusaca 'ama' 'shinchi' 'pacha' 'ri' 'chingu' 'man' nish juin 'pachishman' 'sharea

nina nin.

Chaimantaca nina nin: - Ri, rish cui yaquituman shinashpa huahuata caillapi sueñota saqui - nina nin.

Ari nishpaca sueñota saquirina nin yacuman.

Pai yacuman shamungacamanca huahuata ricuna nin. Huahuaca sumaimana juin cuichi, huahua cuichi churillata, sumaimana sucu, sumaimana largo, sumaimana cana nin huahuaca juin. Nahui pestañitascuna tucui laya tucuncuna nin, cuichi cuentallata, como cuichipalla churi. Chaipica shamushpa nina nin: - Ari, ñuca huahuataca cachashca ricush tiyacunguichi, 'Mana ricuchichun' nirca, cancanapish ña ricush tiyacunguichi - nishpa aparishpa rina nin urcuyash. Chaillami ñuca parlo.

The young girl and the rainbow

There was once a young girl who spent all her time herding the flocks in the hills and would never come to Mass or down into town at all. She would just stay in the hills tending the sheep, cattle and horses. Her parents would tell her to go to Mass but she refused. Every day she went only to the hills to graze the animals and she would never go to Mass.

Then some of her friends told her mother: "There is a suitor up there in the hills. He's a young man who goes about one day with a red poncho, another day with a light-coloured poncho, the next day with a green poncho. He walks about in the hills watching out for people." And the girl's mother said: "Look after my girl. Watch that nothing happens to her."

The girl's friends replied: "But that young man walks about in the hills. One day he wears one poncho, the next day another. He's a handsome, fairhaired young man."

Then one afternoon the sheep, the cows and the horses were scared away. The day after the scare the parents questioned their daughter's companions. They said: "Perhaps that young man has carried them away. That youth used to walk about wearing one colour poncho one day and another colour the next. He was a fairhaired young man. He will have carried them away without doubt. We didn't go with your daughter yesterday. He will have carried her off."

The parents questioned them: "She doesn't come home. She went herding yesterday and she hasn't come back. Why do we have no news of her?" And so saying, they left at dawn to go and look for the animals in the hills. They went up into the hills to look. Up there in the hills there is a broad hollow in the land where the *ugsha* grass grows. When they emerged onto that plain, they saw a huge rainbow weaving its light in the sky. There, right under the centre of the rainbow, was the flock of sheep, cows and horses. Then, weeping, the girl's parents drove the animals before them and brought them home.

In this way a week went by. Then two, then three, then a whole month had passed and the girl did not appear. Her parents went about grieving for her: "Our child hasn't come home," they mourned. And thus six months passed. Then seven months, then eight, and finally a year was up. And the young girl who had gone to the hills did not come back.

When more than a year had gone past, the girl came to visit her parents. Her husband had told her to go and visit them and then to return. So

she came to her parents' house after more than a year. She came bringing with her a child, the son of the rainbow. Her parents asked her: "Where have you come from? We have been weeping for you. Where were you? Why did you not come home?"

"Well, now I have indeed come to visit you, my father and mother," she answered.

"Let's see our grandchild. We want to see it," the parents said.

"No," replied the daughter, "my husband gave me strong warning that I should not show it to you."

So her parents said: "You go and fetch some water and leave your child just here to sleep."

Agreeing, the child stayed sleeping while she went for water.

While she was away getting the water, the parents took a look at the child. It was a beautiful baby, the very child of the rainbow; fair-haired and long in body, a really beautiful child. It had eyelashes of all colours, just like the rainbow itself, for it was the rainbow's son. When the daughter came back, she said: "Here you are looking at my child that my husband sent with me. He warned me not to show it to you, and now here you are sitting and looking at it."

And so saying, she took her child with her and disappeared into the hills. That's my story.

Informant: PTA, 29th August, 1976

| | |
|----------|--|
| T521.2 | Conception from rainbow |
| C315.2.3 | Tabu: looking at rainbow |
| C310 | Tabu: looking at certain person or thing |
| C33 | Tabu: offending supernatural child |
| C32 | Tabu: offending supernatural husband |
| C952 | Immediate return to other world because of broken tabu |
| C953 | Person must remain in other world because of broken tabu |
| Q223.7 | Punishment for neglect of Mass |

Commentary

1.0 Introduction

Whilst I collected only one text in Cafiar dealing with the theme of the rainbow, substantial supplementary data was gathered from informants other than the narrator of the tale to prove a wide distribution of beliefs attached to the phenomenon in the area; these were particularly JSA, MEZ, GZP, ECZ, EDC, and GGG. Tale 19 is therefore analysed mainly in the context of these beliefs, and we will see again how legend adapts belief to meet its needs.

2.0 Narrative structure

| <u>Tale 19: <i>Solterahuan cuichihuan</i></u> | | | |
|---|---------|--|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | shepherd girl (H) spends all her time in hills, never attends Mass | 1/2 |
| | i | her friends warn her parents of the rainbow-suitor | 6 |
| | ii | H disappears | 3 |
| | iii | parents find livestock under arch of rainbow | |
| II | iv | after year H returns home with rainbow's child | 5/9d |
| | v | parents violate 'don't look' taboo | 9b |
| | vi | H returns forever to rainbow's domain | |

The pattern of this tale does not fit as neatly into the journey encounter sequence as tales in the devil narrative subsection, for example. It is the heroine's absence from home, rather than a specific journey, which creates the 'narrative climate' in which the encounter can then take place. Her contravention of social norms is emphasized and implicitly censored by the informant who is, interestingly, a woman. The mediation (Function 6), in this case by friends who are concerned for her safety, takes place before the encounter, rather than after it, as is usually the case, Move II, in which the heroine is given a second chance, but fails again to

meet the standards of behaviour expected of her, gives the tale a unique pattern, although the theme being dealt with is reminiscent of Tale 1, in which the displeasure of the *urqu yaya* has similar consequences. The tale would suit an anthropological analysis, into themes of taboo and the consequences of its violation; it acts as a metaphorical expression of a network of beliefs extensive in the Andean area regarding the rainbow. I shall concentrate mainly now on the ethnographical interest of the text and of the statements of belief which supplement it.

3.0 Content

3.1 Rainbow beliefs in historical perspective

The rainbow has featured in the belief system of Andean peoples at least since Inca times. (1) Then, it enjoyed a veneration equal to that of the moon, stars, thunder and lightening, one of the halls adjoining the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco being dedicated to it (Garcilaso 1960, II:114). At the popular level certain beliefs attached to its presence:

"llaman al arco 'cuychu', y con tenerle en esta veneración, cuando le vetan en el aire cerraban la boca y pontan la mano delante, porque deitan que si le descubrían los dientes los gastaba y empodrecta."
(loc.cit.)

While in modern-day Ecuador, contact with the rainbow is a portent of bad, in Inca mythology its appearance might be taken as a good omen, according to Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui, who relates how Manco Capac is believed to have turned to the rainbow as an oracle in time of need. His comments also reveal a variation in the terminology applied to it:

"aquel arco del cielo, llamado 'cuychi' o 'turumanya' o 'yayacauri'."
(1968:285)

Cobo's information implies that the rainbow had a dualistic nature, and was capable of signifying good or bad:

"También tenían por mal agüero y que era para morir o para algún otro daño grave, cuando venían el arco del cielo, y a veces por buen pronóstico. Reverenciábanlo mucho y no lo osaban mirar, o ya que lo miraban, no lo osaban apuntar con el dedo, entendiéndolo que se morirían."

(1956, II:233) (2)

Such dualism recalls the ambiguous character of objects of popular belief in modern-day Ecuador (*urcu yaya*, devil, etc.).

3.2 Contemporary beliefs

Apart from the data collected from the above-mentioned informants, comparative notes are drawn from the many twentieth-century observers who have published on this subject. (3)

3.2.1 Dual classification of the *cuichi* (arco)

EDC specified that there are two kinds of *arco*, both of which cause disease: the *arco colorado* is that which appears by day and the sickness caused by it is usually curable; the *arco blanco* appears by night and causes an incurable illness. (4) The *arco* is an agent of the *enemigo malo* (a synonym for *diablo*, as seen above), and arches over the earth with one 'foot' in a lake, for example, and another on the earth. This dualistic classification of the rainbow prevails also in the neighbouring *cantones* of Alausí and Chunchi (Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales op.cit.453). The available data from that area corresponds in other aspects with my own, as will be seen.

3.2.2 Places inhabited by the rainbow

All informants concurred in that the rainbow is thought to inhabit water or watery places: irrigation channels, ditches between fields, lakes and marshes, and waterfalls. In this connection we can take into account comparative data for Pindilig: Muñoz-Bernand describes a distinction made by the people between those diseases

caused by bacteria ('*enfermedades microbiosas*'), deriving from culture-contact and curable only with medicines from the *botica*, and those caused by *antimonias*, explained by the local belief system and curable by herbs or magic (1976:56ff). Into the latter category falls 'rainbow sickness'. As in Cantón Cañar, it is associated with specific ecological zones, notably the high moorland marshes:

"Para los campesinos, ciertos lugares específicos están cargados de una especie de electricidad, que llaman antimonio. Estos lugares son: 1) las ciénagas de donde salen los arcos iris..."
(op.cit.59)

3.2.3 Forms taken by the rainbow

Apart from its generally-known attributes, some informants held further beliefs concerning the physical manifestations of the the *cuichi*. The most common of these was a connection between the rainbow and a 'calf of gold'. EDC termed this the '*becerro barroso*' and described it as a brightly coloured fire in the form of a young calf, which appears at the foot of the rainbow, and will burn anyone who tries to catch hold of it. GGG's evidence differed slightly as he seemed to identify *cuichi* and calf as one and the same thing:

"El cuichi dicen que es un becerro de oro. Que vive solamente en la laguna. Por ejemplo allí en Juncal había una laguna en Huairahuin, al lado de la Panamericana, allí. Allí también hay cuichi; decían 'cuichi-bizi'... diz que vive en las lagunas. que en el momento cuando el arco iris se para en alguna parte, el becerro dicen que está levantándose. Ese como el ternero está levantándose, tiembla, no. Al momento que está saliendo va a parar, para hacerse en algunas partes."

He added to this that the rainbow in this shape, before it rises, is contained inside a black bag:

"teniendo la suerte de coger eso es muy bueno dicen porque es oro. Entonces algunos cogen cuando está saliendo de allí. Dicen que pueden coger al becerro para que no salga, con bolso ahí, todo. Esos pueden tener oro. Pero una vez se sintió dicen, seguramente el becerro, o como, una vez se llegó a sentir eso, cuando está yendo a coger, quema dicen, osea ese color creen que es fuego, no."

Comparison may be drawn with beliefs found in Chunchi and Alausí that the rainbow as a calf is hidden in a bag of money:

"Este arco (colorado) igual que el blanco, habita las ciénagas, y se oculta en una bolsa de plata (hualones) y cuando va a salir, se escuchan bufidos como los de un becerro. El arco quema cuando se oculta."
(1966:453)

The connection between the rainbow and animals or bags of gold could be accounted for in a number of ways, (5) In the context of Ecuadorean Quichua culture it most probably results from an association between the ecological siting of the *huacas* (where buried gold allegedly lies) and the habitat of the *cuichi*: in both cases, the high, inhospitable *páramo*. (6) Notably, the '*oro vivo*' of the *huacas* is often conceived of in animal form in Pindilig:

"El 'oro vivo' puede no estar guardado y manifestarse bajo la forma de un animal. Ver a dicho animal trae suerte, pero debe evitarse el tocarlo. El oro de la huaca se convierte principalmente en ave...pero también puede aparecerse en la forma de un sapo, de un conejo, de una lagartija o de un ratón. En todo caso se trata siempre de animales pequeños e inofensivos, aspecto que los vuelve aún más peligrosos para el que los encuentre. Estos animales relucen, como si el oro les irradiase del cuerpo."
(Muñoz-Bernand n.d.5)

The identification of rainbow with animal is to be found at another level also, in data from Imbabura and Pichincha. Parsons has substantial evidence of this and also refers us to Karsten who heard in Pelileo (Tungurahua) of a woman who had exposed herself menstruous to the rainbow and later gave birth to a child that was half pig, half human (Parsons op.cit,92, cites Karsten 1920:70). The Pichincha belief finds expression in a memorat about a woman who went for a walk one afternoon when there was a rainbow:

"My little grandmother came to a spring. What was her surprise to see some baby pigs, pretty and fat, with very luminous hair and on their shoulders bands of different colours. The little pigs were grunting and playing in the water, and, as she watched them, they disappeared in the mouth of the spring. My little grandmother became pregnant."

The child was born very white, with hair blond (red) like the flame of a candle; he was very intelligent and intuitive," (Parsons, op.cit.191).

I quote this passage at length as its description of the rainbow's child, fairskinned and good-looking, recalls that of Tale 19, (7)

3.2.4 Those vulnerable to the rainbow

Not all informants specified the kind of person most vulnerable to the rainbow. Both men and women may contract *cuichi japishca*. ECZ, for example, remarked that people wearing red *ponchos* would be likely candidates, which corresponds with evidence for Chunchi and Alausf:

"El arco iris...persigue y se apodera de las personas vestidas de rojo."

(Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales, op.cit.454)

The present text demonstrates how folk legend has transposed this belief: the rainbow is personified for narrative purposes, and presented as a young man who dresses daily in a different coloured *poncho*, red among them,

JSA specified that contact with the rainbow affects menstruating women. As I have mentioned, Karsten recorded the same for Pelileo, and Muñoz-Bernand found the same attitude prevailing in Pindilig:

"El arco ataca a gente de ambos sexos, pero sobre todo a las mujeres encintas o menstruantes: en este caso se dice que da 'el arco en la sangre'. 'Cuando nos enfermamos de las reglas,' cuenta una mujer, 'es malo ir a pasar por los ciénagos. Cuando pasamos, ya cuando vemos nosotros estar echado el arco, ya diremos que nos coge el arco...'"

(1976:59)

Landívar's text (loc.cit.) also describes how a menstruating woman is made pregnant by the *cuichi*.

3.2.5 The results of contact with the rainbow

The sickness caused by the rainbow is referred to variously as *cuichi japishca* (Sp.cogido del arco) and *cuichi huaira* (Sp.arco aire).

The manner in which the sickness is contracted, its symptoms and its cures, if any, stem from empirical associations with physical phenomena of the environment, and extend to associations bordering on the metaphorical. It is from the latter that legends such as the one presented here can be said to arise.

There is some variation in descriptions of the symptoms involved: whereas EDC places the covering of the body with sores and pimples in this category, GGG described symptoms not unsimilar to those associated with *huairashoa*, a paralysis of the limbs being the most characteristic. GZP corroborated the latter. (8) The former type of symptom finds more correlation in other parts of Ecuador than the latter:

"In *cuichic colorado*, red *cuichic*, there are tumors and and abscesses, over the body, some breaking out, some healing, all the time."
(Parsons, op.cit.197, cf.op.cit.65)

And skin eruptions of various kinds are allotted this cause in Muñoz-Bernand's findings also (op.cit.62).

A female informant associated contact with *cuichi* with an abnormal, apparently uterine, growth known as *mula matriz* which can, according to her, only be removed by operation. In western medical terms she would appear to be referring to a tumor. (9)

From the evidence so far, it is now possible to divide the symptoms into two groups: the outbreak of sores and pimples, together with paralysis of the limbs stem, no doubt, from empirical associations with the damp, unhealthy marshlands where the rainbow is frequently seen. The sexual implications of rainbow impregnation belong to a metaphorical sphere, on the other hand, perhaps originating in phallic symbolism, and lowland mythology (rainbow = snake). Such origins are forgotten, and what remains in practice is a belief that no doubt provides a convenient 'excuse' for unexplained pregnancies. By reading between the lines of the following extract from a letter

written by a parish priest at Izamba (Tungurahua), this is certainly the conclusion to be drawn;

"Me encontré una ocasión con una india que lloraba amargamente. - ¿Por qué lloras? la pregunté, - Porque me ha cogido el cuichic - me dijo, - y me va a matar mi marido, - Pero ¿por qué? - Porque recién pasa el cuichic sobre mí y me deja embarazada, estando lejos de mi marido."
(Rodríguez Sandóval, op.cit.124) (10)

3.2.6 Protection and cures (11)

ECZ recommends the throwing of urine in the direction of the rainbow as a protective measure. (12) As a cure, she advocates cleansing the body with *ají* (*capsicum annuum*), incense, rosemary, *santamaría* (?), (13) and *puleo* (*bistropogon mollis* HBK). (14) These items after use should be thrown onto a well-trafficked street.

EDC's cure for *cuichic colorado* introduces an association with the colours of the rainbow: scraps of cloth of different colours (green, red, yellow, black, purple) should be gathered, burnt, and their ash mixed with the same ingredients as are used against *mal aire*. (15) The resulting mixture ('*agua*') is taken internally. The cure advocated by GGG suggests the same association: a water is made using flowers of different colours. Cleansing with a guinea-pig to which strings of different coloured wool have been attached would also belong to this category (see Parsons, op.cit.197)

4.0 The relationship between belief and tale

The Cañar text and similar legends from elsewhere reveal a close connection with popular beliefs in the rainbow's power to impregnate women, while to my knowledge the other dimension of belief, relating to physical illness explained by empirical associations, is not to be found in legend form. I shall therefore deal here with the first.

dimension only. I have already remarked on a possible 'realistic' reason for the usefulness and thus the perpetuation of the belief in question. The legend as its literary expression acts as a convenient vehicle for this perpetuation. I shall now make one or two further observations regarding the way in which folk narrative adapts folk belief for its own metaphorical ends.

I noted that in curing ritual, metaphorical associations are to be found - the colours of the rainbow are represented in the remedies. In the legend, a comparable thing happens: in the Cañar text the colour theme is repeated in the rainbow youth's *ponchos*, and in the description of his child's eyelashes; in Pichincha, as we saw in the extract quoted, it occurs in the colours of the pigs whose presence is implicitly responsible for the heroine's impregnation.

In the description of the physical attributes of the rainbow's son, there is a further point that would have certain categorical significance for the listener: the child's beauty is expressed in terms of his fairness and his tallness, both of which are notably non-indian traits, and his father was described in the same way as a 'handsome blond young man'. Moreover, both are characteristics the indian would automatically associate with the white man. The latter, in the native classification system still represents a being who is at once superior and awesome, to be mistrusted and feared. The equivalence between 'God' and 'white man' and 'devil' has been discussed in connection with the devil legends; God figures too may be described as fair-haired in legend (see Tale 6, for example), and in the comparative material descriptions were found of the 'hill father' as blond and handsome (Taita Chimborazo, for eg.). The rainbow, then, is seen to have attributes of a similar order in its personified form, and might therefore be included at a structural level in the same

category as devil, 'God', or even 'hill father', attributed an equally ambivalent nature, and worthy of the same amount of fear and respect in dealings with him. In legend, the rainbow's ambivalence is expressed in the way he allows the heroine to return home with his child, but only under the condition that she allows no-one to look at it. The prohibition broken, his sympathy is retracted and she must return forever to the hills, which outcome is reminiscent of the heroine's fate in Tale 1 as a result of her incorrect treatment of the *urcu yaya*.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Rainbow mythology in the highlands no doubt has its origins in that of the tropical lowlands where the rainbow was and is frequently associated with a snake. Lévi-Strauss reproduces a Gran Chaco myth collected by Lehmann-Nitsche wherein a monstrous snake is destroyed and after death turns into a rainbow (1970:304). For further discussion of lowland associations with the rainbow, see op.cit.246-250. Parsons gives us references to the Jíbaro connection between water boa and rainbow (op.cit.92).

(2) cf. a belief held in Imbabura: "*si alguien le señala con su dedo, éste se pudre.*" (Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales 1966:454).

(3) Rivet (1906:91), Parsons (1945:131,191,197-8), Rodríguez Sandóval (1949:124), Carvalho-Neto (1964:147), Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales (1957:233, 1966:450-456), Guevara (1972:147-8), Mena (1969:18-19), Landívar (1971:102-107), Muñoz-Bernand (1976:59-63).

(4) In tropical America there also exists a distinction between a diurnal and a nocturnal rainbow, the latter of which is perceived as a black space in the Milky Way where normally there would be stars (Lévi-Strauss, op.cit.247).

(5) One is of course reminded of the belief in pots of gold at the rainbow's end found in Europe and elsewhere.

(6) The term *guaca* is applied by Cobo to the site at the foot of the rainbow: "*a aquella parte donde les parecía que caía el pie del arco, la tenían por lugar horrendo y temeroso, entendiendo que había allí alguna guaca o otra cosa digna de temor y reverencia.*" (1956,II xiii:233).

(7) cf. Landívar's text from Biblián where it is described as: "*sucu, shirbu, gordo y lindo.*" ("blond-haired, curly, plump and pretty") (op.cit.102).

(8) The description of symptoms here suggests rheumatism; GZP's recommendation was to rub the affected part with *aceite de bacalao*, a somewhat atypical remedy.

(9) The only other context in which I came across this term was in Muñoz-Bernand's discussion of taboos on certain foods. In the words of one of her informants: "*El aguacate no es ni agrio ni dulce, no es nada. Tiene secreto. Viene a formarse como una criatura, como decimos 'mulamatrix', Eso se cria, como criar una criaturita en el seno de una,*" (op.cit.63).

(10) cf. the 'explanation' for the discarding of unwanted infants in certain localities, in connection with sub-sections (a) and (b); such can be the pragmatic functions of folklore.

(11) see also: Parsons (op.cit.197-8), Muñoz-Bernand (op.cit.59-63), Mena (op.cit.18-19), Landívar (op.cit.102-106).

(12) cf. the protective and curative powers of urine in connection with contact with the devil; also Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales (1966:453).

(13) also used as a curative for *malaire*.

(14) also used in remedy against *jatun huairashca*, see Tales 8 & 9.

(15) ie. *huantug blanco* (*datura suaveolens* H et B), *puleo*, *santamaría*, *guizhguizh* (*alonsoa caulialata* R et P, *romero*, *manteca de chivo*, *manteca de gallina*, *trago*, *agua florida*.

Section A sub-section (e): Tales of the *ullachu*

Texts

Group (i)

Tale 20: *Solterahuan ullachuhuan*

Shug tiempo shug soltera tiyashca nin. Chai solteraca entonces rinata yachashca nin misaman. Tiyashca nin noviocuna achca. Tauca tucupish interesadocuna pero paica mana uyag cashca pita. Entonces shug punzhaca ricushca nin misaman. Misaman ricugpica shug ullachu ricurishca nin. Taita Dios permisopi, ñucanchi mal ruhuashcata aspicushca nin. Chai-mantaca churarishpa pasarishca nin shug ladoman ñahuita ruhuashpa. Chaimantaca chai solteraca ña cutimun nin. Cutimugpica entonces cashca nin shug joven chaipi shayacushca nin: yurag chivo samarro churacushca, pacha cushma, camisa yuraglla, tucui. Shug vestishca juin paica shug fiesta llugshicug cuenta. Chaipica nishca nin, chai solterata ricushpaca nishca nin: - Ñucatapish pushaiari. - Jacuyari - seguro cashpaca nishca nin. Entonces chai rato rishca nin igual.

Huasiman chayashca nin. Mama yayacunapa ñumpapi: - Caitacari cazaragrini. Pita mana uyag cashca yaya mamacunaca munag cashca shugcunata cazarachun. Pero paica mana uyashca. Chaitaca cazarashami nishpa nishca nin. Chaica ullachu cashca. Chaica forma de cristiano ricurishca chashma pai soberbio cashcamanta. Taita Dios castigasha nireca. Entonces chai punzha chayan ña. Huasita ruhuacushca chai solterapa yaya mamaca. Huasita ruhuacugpica: - P'u, ñucamaca caica mana ima trabajochu. Shug ratitopimi ñuca ruhuasha. - Entonces shamun nin: - Ñuca rinimi pushamungapa ñuca familiacunata ayudanauchun. Cancunaca ricuichi imallata cancunapa pobrezata. Ñuca cai ratopimi trabajasha. Chaica pushamun nin, shamun nin p'u genteca, achca. Chaica ratitopi huasitaca altiyan nin. Chaimanta shug punzhaca ña huasitaca cubiertan ña. Cunan: - ¿Imahuanta c'atanchi? - nishca nin mama yayacunaca - , caracho, cunan ña huasica ruhuashca, pero imahuanta c'atanchi? Chaipica nishca nin: - Ñucaman cui shug bestiacunata maipi fletash, mañash, imashinapish, cui. Ñuca amugrishallami ñuca solo. Pita rinacun ricugpica: - Mana, ñuca rishallami. Shug huambritota cachashca nin compañachishpa. Cachashca nin doce mulas. Pai solito rishca ugshata amungapa, huasita c'atangapa. Chayan ugsha puestopi.

Huambritoca ña chaipi ña compañarishcaca chaipi carganacungapa, charinacungapa rishca. Paica imatami ruhuan? Nin: - Canca caipi cai ugshata caipi p'iticui. Ñuca rinimi chainicunapi mashcamungapa. Ashtan ugsha maipi largolla tiyanca - imami nishca nin. Huambraica ricunata avansashca nin ullachucuna juin muyurishpa cacushca nin ña. Chaimanta pambayarea nin. Huambritoca pacallapica ugshata cuchucun, pudin mana pudin paipa partetaca. Ña poco rato ninmi nin: - Huambra ña bestia apamui cargangapa. Chaimanta huambritoca arinishpa rina nin: - Ñucapish ugsarcanimi. - Mana, chaíta saquilla. Ñuca ña caipi ña cabalashcami tucui chunga ishcai mula... ña chunga quimsami cashca. Chunga quimsamantaca shug mula faltan. Huambritaca nishca nin: - ¿Maipita shug cabaloca? - Apamui cargangapa, chunga ishcai caipimi. Ña japin cargan, japin cargan. ¿Maita shug bestiaca?

Entonces cuando ña pai c'ayamugrishcari chai familiacunata, chaipi invitacionta ruhuashca shug bestiataca. Ña ucu pascancuna chaipi. Imata ricuringa ashun solo tullucunalla maipicha siricushca nin. Solo tullucunalla. Chaita ricushpaca huambritoca nishca nin: - Caipi bestia huanush cashea. ¿Imashi tucureca?

Chaipica nishca nin: - Jacu jaculla. Ña mana ima ña taririn imata ruhuashun. Siquiera caicunapi cargash rishun.

Ña tucui mashna cargashca ña ratitopi cargancuna,

Huasiman chayan. Ña cushilla yaya mamaca tupan. Chaipica nishca nin:

- ¿Maita shug bestia? Chunga quimsamanta shug faltan.

Huambritoca nishca nin: - Shinami chingarín. Tullucunallami taririn.

¿Imacha pasarca?

Chaipica nishca nin, tapushca nin: - ¿Imashi pasash canga shug bestiaca?

Chaipi nishca nin: - Huambraca mana alli cuidash, ñuca ugshacugpi ¿imacha tucun bestiaca? Sicha singurca, sichari mai imami pasarca.

Ña pasan chashna. Ña c'atancuna tucuita. Chaica c'atasheaca cashcanga nin, ña ricungapalla paipa c'atasheacurucua. Chaimanta ña paicunaca uyansan. Ña huasita c'atanchi nishpa, tucui cabal nishpa, entonces taitapa ahuaña tiyashca. Chaita ahuañi callarishca taita: - Cunan punzha ñuca rinimi ahuangapa.

Saquin mana pagtarishpa, mana tucui ahuañi pudinchu. Chaipica nishca nin:

- Cunan rini tucui ahuangapa. Cunan punzha tucuchishami,

Shug pacha ahuanita cashea nin, P'u chaitaca shug ratito volachin nin.

Cutin rina nin. Cunanca imacha misa pasana gastohuan cashea. Chaipica nishca nin: - Cunan shug huagratañi amunata charircanichi maicha ureumanta. Vaquercuna entregasha nirca.

Chaipi nishca nin: - P'a, chaita ñuca amugrishallami, ñuca solo. Entonces ñucaman cucayuta cui ñuca risha vaquercunaman imashinami. Cunan ña trato ruhuashcanguichi, ñuca risha amungapa.

Ari nishpa chai rato imalla paicunapa afanidad cucayuta cushca,

Chaihuanca rin.

Bueno, huagraca caracho, semejante p'iña huagra. Laziashpa cuncuna nin vaquercuna trincashpa, carai. Cunan: - ¿Ima shinami apangui?

Paica: - P'a - nishca nin -, caita aisarishallami shug oveja shina, Ña huagra atish paita sagmangapa shamugpica 'tas' chulla ñahui muruta llugchin. Ña huagra cutin rabiashishpa paita aventi callarigpica, cutin shug ñahui muruta llugchin, ña huashicun. Chaimanta shamun aisashpa, Huagraca ishcai ñahui illaglla shamun maipipish cachun, Ña chayamun huasipi. Chaica: - Riqui shina amunillami ñucaca.

Chaipi nishca nin: - Caimi de verasta tucuita ruhan; ahuanata ratopi llugchin; huasita ratopi ruhan; p'iña huagrata apamun. Caitacari ñuca ushi, ñuca huahua cazarachunlla. Paitami ricusha yernotaca.

Chaipica ña huambra, como paipish cazarasha nicushpa cacushca, ña cazarachincuna. Cazarachishpa uyansan.

Chaimantaca rin. Nishca nin: - Ñucaca rigrinimi cunanca familiacunata ricungapa. Rigsihingapa huarmiman. Ñucapish charini mama, ñucapish charini familiacuna, tiocuna, primocuna, uh, aheatami charini - nishca nin.

Cunan cai mundo ullachucunataca charishcamari canga! Bueno, Chaimanta rin. Ña imallata pobretoocuna ruhuash cachan, apachishpa huahuamancan cachan. - Ri ricugri cusapa familiacunapaman ri, Maijan pudigpica pushamungui.

Ña rin.

Chaimanta juin rinlla paica largo. Ña shug ureu lomaman llugshin.
 Chai lomata shitarishpaca nishca nin, cunan caitami shug llano ricurin,
 chai llanomantaca: - Cunan caitami rishun.
 Chai llanotapish tucuchina nin: - Cutin chai lomaman llugshishun.
 Cutin chai lomaman llugshina nin. Ña shinacush shaycun. Aparishca mas
 huarmicitoca, paica chushaglla. Chaimantaca ninmi nin: - ¡Manachu utca
 puri pudingui? - nishca nin.
 - Maimantata shamunchichari, cai mundo caruta shamunchi. Ñami shaycuna -
 nishca nin.
 - Upalla siringui, pagta ñahui muruta llugchiman - nishca nin -, ligerito
 shamungui.
 Paica caruta ñumpashpa rin nin.

Cutin shug loma ureu llugshin nin. - Ñuca familiacunaca faltanrami.
 Chai chinba lomapimi causan.
 Ricuchina nin shug carupi ureuta. Chaimanta rin nin ña paicunaca
 chashna huarmicitoca shaycushca, aparishca caru caru c'atishca. Bueno,
 chai ureupi chayan. Chaimantaca patapi llugshin nin, shug semejante
 c'aca cashca nin, chai ureupi chayagpica. Chai c'aca patamantaca ninmi
 nin: - Mamita Andrea - nish caparin nin.
 Chaipica ura chugpi c'acamanta shug lluchu uma, shug ullachuca 'ouaj'
 nishpa umata alsash ricun nin. Chai cashca nin, chaipi causashca nin,
 chai machaipi. Entonces pai huarmicitoca sustiyarishpa ima cuentata
 cai c'acapi cutin causarca suegraca. - Chaimi ñuca mama - ninmi nin
 patamantaca. Chaimantaca ninmi nin: - Cunan caita shitari.
 Shug maita mana shitaripa c'acata. - Rinimi ñucaca familiacunata pusha-
 mungapa. Invito ña cambia cachashca cucayuta micuchuncuna.
 Chaimantaca ña rin paica. Maicha ima shinacha ricugpica ña ashun
 volashpa ricushca. Caruta volash rishca.

Shug allquituca c'atish rishca paicunahuan pagta, igual. Allquituca
 igual aullashpa nin, ladrashpa nin, chai ullachu, chai lluchu umata
 ricushpaca. Shinapish: - Parai - ninmi nin -, ñuca ña tupamunimi.
 Chai c'acamanta llugshishpaca shug ratitopi patayamun nin alas
 pascarashca shayan nin. Nueraca 'zai' nishpa tupashca,
 - Caitami ñuca mama taita cacharca.
 Ratopi japishpa tucui volachin nin. Chaimantaca ninmi nin: - Cunanca,
 hija, ri cutishpa maitami shamuncangui, chaíta cutiri. Familiacunahuan
 shamungapa rinmi ñuca huahuaca. Cantaca mana pagtachingachu. Shinaca
 cutiri. Pero pagta llanoman llugshinguiman, maita miticushpa ringui.
 Sacha ucu, ugsha ucu, maita. Pero llanomanca ama llugshinguichu.

Maita mana rinata pudishca, maicha shug llanopica llugshishcallata ña.
 Chaipica jahua airetaca ima mundo shamushca cai mundo ullachucuna
 masheashpa. Jahuamanta ricucurcacunachariyá maitami ricun. Chaipica
 'zas' uraicuncuna. Ju, pobre huarmitaca chaipi huacian. Allquituca
 ladrashpa misash c'aticushca. Pero ni imata pudin, cai mundo animalcunaca
 huacian ratitopi, tucui tucuchishca. Tucui yahuaraitohuan saltash
 saquirishca ugshapimi, sachapi, llanopi.

Chaimanta rishca allquitoca cutishpa. Allquitopish yahuarpi chapurishca,
 chashna misacushpa. Huasipi chayashca nin allquitoca ladrashpa,
 aullashpa. - Caica mana ima alli shamunchu - nishca mama yayacuna
 -, ñuca huahua ¡maipi? ¡ima tucun?
 Yahuarlla allquitoca chayan. Chaíta ricushpa cutirishcacunaca, c'atish
 allquitotaca ña ñumpachishpa,

Allquitoca ñumparishpaca, maipi chayashca, maipimi paipa ama tucurirca. Chaipi chayashpaca aullashpa, jahuata saltashpa cashca nin. Chaipi yahuarcito tupashca nin. Cai mundo batallashca, tucui trasticitocuna mai maita saquirishca. Chaicunata apash shamushpami, entonces entierrota ruhuashca. Na chaipi pobre huarmicitoca ejemplopa saquirishca cai vida causaipi ñucanchi qu'ipa huiñaicunaman cai experienciata yachachun. Porque mana allichu agllanaca.

The young girl and the buzzard

There was once a single girl who used to go to Mass. There would be lots of suitors there for her, but she took no notice of any of them. One day as she was going into church, there was a buzzard nearby on a rubbish heap, scratching in the filth and putting its head on one side to swallow. When the girl came out again, there was a fine young man standing there, dressed in white goatskin leggings, a tunic woven of fine sheepswool, a white shirt and all. He was dressed up as if he were going to a *fiesta*. When he saw the young girl, he said to her: "Take me with you."

The girl was sure this time, and replied: "Let's go."
So they went on their way together.

Well, they reached her home and she declared before her parents: "This is the young man I shall marry."

She had never listened to the proposals of other men, and her parents would have preferred her to marry someone else. But she took no notice, wanting only to marry that young man. And he was really a buzzard! He had appeared to her in the form of a human being as God wanted to punish her for her pride. So he arrived, and it happened that her parents were building a new house. As they were working on it, the buzzard-man said: "That's not even work to me. I can finish that job in no time. I'll go and bring my family to help. You see about preparing some food, whatever you can manage. I'll finish the work in a jiffy."

So he brought a lot of people to help, and the house was up in a moment. After that, they needed to put a roof on the house, but: "What would they roof it with?" the girl's parents asked themselves.

Whereupon the young man said: "Hire or borrow a horse for me and I'll go alone to fetch roofing."

When they asked whom he would go with, he replied that he would go alone. But they sent a young lad to accompany him. They sent thirteen mules, and off he set to bring back thatching for the house,

When they arrived at the place where the straw was, the man addressed the boy who had been sent to help him fetch and load the straw: "You cut this straw here. I'm going over there to look for some longer pieces."

Then the boy saw a whole crowd of buzzards circle overhead and come down to land. So he hid himself and went on cutting his share of straw as best he could. After a while, the man said: "Bring the horses for loading now, boy."

The boy obeyed, saying that he too had collected some straw. But the man told him to leave his part for he had already gathered enough for twelve mules....but there had been thirteen mules! One of them was missing! The boy said: "Where's the other nag?"

"Come and load these twelve," the other replied.

So he helped lift and load the straw; but where was the other animal?

You see, the buzzard-man had gone to call all his family of buzzards and invited them to feast on the animal. They'd devoured it whole! There was nothing left of it now but a few bones scattered about the ground. When the lad saw this, he said: "Here's where the mule died, what can have happened to it?"

And the other replied: "Let's be off. There's nothing left of the beast, nothing we can do about it. Let's at least take these ones back loaded."

And in a moment they had the animals loaded and ready.

When they arrived home, the girl's parents were very happy to see them. But they said: "Where's the other mule? One of the thirteen is missing." The boy answered: "It got lost, and then only a pile of bones was to be found. What can have happened to it?"

And they asked the suitor: "What can have happened to the mule?"

Whereupon he replied: "The boy didn't look after it properly. While I was cutting straw, what can have happened to it? Perhaps it fell down a slope, anything could have happened."

And so the incident was dismissed, and they put the roof on the house. The suitor roofed the house for them: his work was a sight worth seeing. And afterwards they ate and drank to celebrate, very satisfied with the completion of the job. Then the girl's father had some weaving to do. He sat down and began weaving, but he couldn't manage to finish it all in the day. The girl's suitor said: "Leave it to me, I'll finish all that weaving in a day."

It was a piece of weaving in sheepswool, and in an instant the girl's suitor had finished the work!

After that, the girl's parents had an obligation to provide food, as they were having a Mass said. "We were to bring a bull down from the moors," they said, "the cowherds wanted to provide one for us." So the buzzard-man said: "That's no trouble, I'll go on my own and bring it down. Just give me some food for the journey and I'll go to see the cowherds. You've made the deal with them, so all that remains is for me to go and collect the bull. So saddle me a horse and I'll go." The parents agreed and in their growing fondness for him provided him with food, and he set off.

Now this bull was a huge, ferocious beast. The cowhands had him very firmly tied up. "How are you going to take it home?" they asked the buzzard-man.

"Easy," replied he, "I'll just lead it along like a lamb."

He unfastened the bull and it came charging towards him, about to butt him with its horns. But the buzzard-man poked out one of its eyes. Again the angry bull was about to toss him in the air, but the buzzard poked out its other eye and brought the beast down. Then he pulled it along towards home. The bull had lost both its eyes and came along feeling its way and walking wherever it was led. So he arrived home and announced: "Look, this is the way I bring the bull."

Thereupon the girl's parents said: "This young man really can do everything; he finished the weaving in no time, the house was built in a jiffy, he has brought home the angry bull. We must certainly marry our daughter to this man. He shall be our son-in-law."

And as the youth too was in agreement, so they were married and a wedding feast was held.

After the wedding, the husband said: "Now I'm going to see my family, to introduce my wife to them."

And her parents said: "Go child, go and come back,"
 For the husband said: "I too have a mother and relatives: uncles and aunts and cousins. I've a big family."
 But of course his family was going to be a flock of buzzards! So the girl's poor parents prepared a humble offering of food for their daughter to take, saying: "Go and visit your in-laws and those who can come, bring them back with you."
 And they set out.

They travelled for a long time until they came onto the side of a hill. They journeyed on the hillside for a while until the husband said: "Now we shall go out onto that plain you can see over there."
 And when they came to the end of that valley, they went up again onto a hill. In this way the woman grew tired, for she was carrying a load while her husband had none. He asked her: "Can't you walk more quickly?" And she replied: "Oh what a long way we seem to have come, I'm so tired," "Hold your tongue while you rest," the husband warned her, "watch I don't poke your eyes out. Now come on quickly."
 And he led the way, walking far ahead of her.

Again they came onto a hillside, and he said: "We haven't reached my family yet. They live on that hill opposite."
 And he pointed out a mountain a long way off. So they continued walking and the poor woman followed him, growing more and more weary under the weight of her load. Then at last they arrived on that mountainside. When they got there, they came out onto a flat place from which a huge rock reared up. From the ledge of rock the husband called out: "Mama Andrea!"
 And from half-way down the rock the bald head of a buzzard emerged and gave a hoarse 'caw' in reply. That was where it lived, in a hole in the rock! The poor woman was extremely frightened when she realised that her mother-in-law lived in the rock. "That's my mother," her husband told her.
 Then he told her to stay where she was, on the giddy ledge of rock, while he went to bring his family to share with them the offering of food the girl had brought. And somehow he flew way off into the distance.

Now the girl had a little dog who had come with them to take care of her. When he saw that bald-headed old buzzard he barked and howled. Then she heard a voice call: "Stay where you are, I'm coming down to get you."
 And out of the rock came the ugly buzzard. In an instant it had landed beside its daughter-in-law and stood there slowly opening and closing its great wings.
 "My parents sent me here," the girl said.
 In a moment the buzzard had taken hold of her and had flown her down from the rock. Then it said: "Now, daughter, go back the way you came. My son is going to come back with all his relations. He won't be able to make you go round them all. So go back, go home. But be careful not to go out onto the plain, keep yourself well hidden in the underbrush of the hillside, in the long grass, wherever you can. But don't go out into the valley."

So the girl set off. But she couldn't follow the instructions, soon she just came out onto an open plain. Then a great flock of buzzards came flying through the air looking for her. They must have been able to spot her from the sky, and they swooped down and devoured the poor woman. The little dog ran after them barking to defend his mistress.

But he was helpless against them; that great flock of birds finished her off in no time. Her blood was scattered all over the grass and the bushes of the valley.

So the little dog ran home, covered with blood from his efforts to defend his mistress. Arriving at the house, he barked and howled so that the girl's parents knew something was wrong. "Where can our daughter be?" they wondered.

When they saw the dog covered in blood, they followed it back the way it had come. And the dog led the way to where his mistress had been. When it got there it began to howl and leap in the air in anguish. There they found blood spattered everywhere, together with her clothing, so vicious had been the attack. They carried these few remains back home and buried them. So that poor woman is an example for us to teach our children, so that they may learn that it isn't good to be choosy.

Informant: JMD, 15th August, 1976

| | |
|-----------|---|
| D350 | Transformation: bird to person |
| D641.1.2 | Transformation to be able to woo maiden |
| H335.0.3 | Devil as suitor assigned tasks |
| Q331 | Pride punished |
| Q441.1 | Punishment: winning as a wife and then killing |
| Q415 | Punishment: being eaten by animals |
| H310 | Suitor tests. A suitor is put to severe tests by his prospective bride or father-in-law |
| H326.1 | Suitor test: aptness in handicrafts |
| H336.2 | Suitor required to catch wild animals |
| H1161.2.2 | Task: killing fierce bull |
| T131.1.3 | Marriage against will of parents |
| T131 | Marriage restrictions |
| C162.3 | Tabu: marrying outside of group |
| B602 | Marriage to bird |
| T137 | Customs following wedding |
| B421 | Helpful dog |

Tale 21: Solterahuan ullachuhuan

Nuca michish purish yachacurcani, parlarcacunchi cuentota. Nircacuna: ima shuti, shug soltera tiyashca nin, juin solo misaman purishca, Chai misaman purishpa shug castillano allquito c'atichishca, Shug p'ucushca soltera, Chai castillano allquito igual purig cashca misaman, Misaman igual purishpa entonces maipichari shug ullachuca shayacushca nin. Chaimantaca misaman pasarigpica ismata aspicuna nin ullachuca, Chaimantashi misamanta llugshimugpica maipicha shug sumaimana mozo siricuna nin. Chaipica nina nin: - Nucata apariari - nina nin-, tñacito ñucata pushagri - nina nin chai solterata.

Chaipishi chai solteraca: - Jacu, jacu - seguro cashpaca nina nin, Chaimantashi entonces c'atirina yaya mamapa huasiman, Yaya mamapa huasimantashi, cutin ña chashna huasita ruhuana nin, ugshaman rina nin, Chaimanta punchucunata ahuaa nin chai ullachuca.

Chaimantashi, ima shuti, ugshaman cachagpica shug caipi shamushpaca, entonces bestiapa ñahui miruta churush micush shamushca nin ullachuca, Chaimantashi ña rishca, cachashca solterapa yaya mamaca richunmama yaya suegrata rigsimungapa, Chaipi cachagpica nishca nin, cuita cusashpa, aichacunata yanushpa, cachana nin yayahuan suegrata mamata ricumungapa, Chaipishi entonces nina nin maipicha ricushpalla ña mana avanzagpi nina nin: - ¡Manchu avanzanguí?

- Mana avanzanichu -nigpica nina nin: - Nucapa alli ugllari nuca

aparingapa - nina nin.

Chaipishi ugllarina alli lomopi ugllarigpi ña rina nin volai volashpa. Jahua cielota volash rigpi ullachu tucuna nin ña.

Yaya mamapapi chayagpi, shug jatun machai huasipi tiyacuna, juin picolla atirishcacuna. Chaipishi entonces nina nin chai suegraca: - ¿Imapata shamurangui? ¿Sonsachu carcangui? ¿Locachu carcangui? Caipi ña rincuna familiata amungapa ña micungapa, - nina nin.

Chaipishi entonces nina nin: - Ama llanoman yaicunguichu. Sacha sachallata ringui. Chaipishi paica cungarishpa llanoman yaicuna nin. Alzarish ricugpi jahuata ima mundo ullachucuna shamucuna nin. Chaipishi ña llano pambapi japishpaca micuna nin. Chai castellano allquitoca shugta c'atina nin, shug ña caimanta japirina nin, shugta c'atina nin, shug ña caimanta japirina nin. Shinaca solterata ña tucuchina nin ullachucunaca.

Chashnashi entonces ña shamuna nin castellano allquitoca huasiman macunaman huillangapa. Llugshicuna nin, yaicucuna nin aullashpa huasipi chayashpaca. Chaipi solterapa mamaca nina nin: - ¿Maita dueñoca? ¿Maita saquirinyari? - nina nin.

Chaipishi canshaman llugshishpa chimbata ricush aullana nin. Chaipishi ima shuti, ña rina nin castellano allquitota ñumpachishpa solterata ricungapa, maipichari tullulla siricuna nin. Chaipishi imacha sacha yura p'anguitapi ima yahuarcito ashallata saltacuna nin. Chaitashi amuna jatun mushu manga tinajapi churana nin. Chaipica ishcai semanapica ña llullu huahua cana nin. Chashnashi cana.

The single girl and the buzzard

I learnt this story from my friends as we were herding the sheep. They told how there was once a single girl who used to go to Mass on her own. As she went to Mass she was always followed by a little terrier dog. She was quite a mature young woman. One day as they went to the Mass together, a buzzard was to be seen nearby. As they went into the church, it was scratching in a pile of rubbish. Later, when she came out of Mass, there was a very handsome young man lounging outside the church. "Hey, miss," he said, "take me home with you." And the young girl replied with assurance: "Come on, let's go." So the young man followed her to her parents' house. Later on he left her home and went to fetch straw for a house they were building. Then the buzzard-man wove some ponchos.

One day, returning from fetching the straw, the buzzard poked out the horse's eyes and ate them as he was coming along the road. Then one day the girl's parents sent her to meet her in-laws. They prepared roast guinea-pig and other meats for her to take and sent her with her husband to visit his family. As they were travelling on the way to the in-laws' house, she grew weary and he asked her: "Can't you walk any further?"

She replied that she could not, so he told her to hold on to him tightly and he would carry her on his back. Turning into a buzzard, he took her on his back and the two of them went flying through the sky.

Now the buzzard's parents lived in a great cave, and they both had long sharp beaks. When the couple arrived there, the girl's mother-in-law said to her: "What have you come her for? Are you a fool? Are you crazy? He has gone to fetch the whole family to eat you."

The mother-in-law then instructed her saying: "Don't go down into the valley, keep only to the mountainside and you'll be safe."

But the girl forgot the words of advice, and went down onto the plain. Raising her head, she saw a whole crowd of buzzards coming towards her through the sky. There on the flat plain they caught her and devoured her. The little terrier dog tried to chase them away one after another, but each time they fought him off. And so the buzzards put an end to the single girl.

So the terrier came back to the girl's parents' house to tell them what had happened. When he arrived, he ran in and out of the house howling. And the mother asked: "Where's your mistress? Where has she got to?"

And the little dog ran outside and away into the distance, howling as he went. The parents followed after it and the dog led the way to where the girl lay, nothing but a pile of bones. But they saw a drop of her blood trembling a little on the leaf of a nearby bush. Taking it home they placed it in a tall new earthenware jar, and two weeks later a new baby grew there inside the pot! That's how the story went.

Informant: MEZ, 3rd June, 1976

some as for Tale 20, plus:

E35 Resuscitation from fragments of the body

Group (ii)

Tale 22: *Huauquindi ullachucunahuan*

Ari, mana cazarashpa huañushpa ullachu cazaran nin huañushca qu'ipa. Cashna nin, entonces, shug soltera shug soltero mana cazarashpa causan chashnalla. Entonces huañugpica ullachucuna ña huarmi tiyan ninshi cai shug vidapi. Entonces chai ullachucunaca ninmi nin, shuti nin Andrea. Entonces shug huauquindi cana nin. Chaicunaca shug mana cazarashpa huañuna nin, punta, shug qu'ipata huañuna nin chashnallata. Entonces chaímanta mismo chai huauquipacamaman rishea nin chai qu'ipa huañugea. Chaipica nina nin: - Ah huauqui, ¿imapata shamungui caimanca? - nishca nin -, ¿ima nishca mana cazarangui? Entonces ashata parai caipi ñuca rini ñuca huarmita cayangapa - nishca nin. Nina nin: - Maipitari ñucallata cayangapa risha. Entonces paillata cayangapa rina nin shug patamanta. - Chai ura huaicupimi ñuca huarmica millucuta chagracunga - nishca nin, Paica ahuaushca nin chai cusaca.

Entonces chai pataman tucushpaca 'hermana Andrea' nishpa cayangui nishca. Chaímanta rina nin 'hermana Andrea' nish caparin nin. Chaipica uramanta contestan nin usheu 'uy' nin. - Mana vali usheu - pai - acazu ¿cantachu cayacuni ñucaca? Ñucaca ñuca huauquipa huarmitami cayacuni - juriashpa shamuna nin cutin cutishpa. Entonces chaipi cutin cutigpica tapuna nin: - ¿Ñachu cayamungui? Chaímanta: - Ari ayanimi pero pi mana ricurinchu - nina nin -, shug usheu payacunami contestan. Chaita alli juriashpami shamuni - nina nin. Entonces chaipi nina nin: - Aah huauqui, ¿imapata chashna juriamungui? Cunanca shamushpa ñucataca ¿imatami ruhuangacuna chaicunaca? - nin -, chaitami ñuca huarmica. Can cunanca ri cutishpa y utquita cazarai campish y cai shug huauquicunatapish utca cazarachingui. Y mamacunatapish ningui huahuacunata cazarachichun. Ñuca caipi cashnami causacuni. Cunan ricushpa ringui ñuca ima shina caipi cagta - nina nin.

Entonces chaipi chayamushpaca shug tispi shug tispi shug tispi tucui pedazo pedazo aicha aparin, chushag tulluta saquishpa. Cutin cayandi

tutamanta cutin vomitancuna nin ushoucuna, Cutin causarin nin chaica vomitashcamanta. Ricushpa cutimuna nin, entonces causarina nin cutimushpa entonces chaica huauquicuna tucui casarana nin,

The two brothers and the buzzards

Yes, if somebody dies without marrying they say they marry the buzzard after death. So it is, then: an unmarried woman or man live just like that, without marrying. Then when they die there is a buzzard-wife in the other life. Now that buzzard-wife is called Andrea. Well, there were two brothers. They died without getting married: first one and afterwards the other one died just like that. Then the last one to die went to where his own (dead) brother was. Then the dead brother asked him: "Oh brother, why have you come here? Why didn't you get married? Well, stay here a moment and I will go and call my wife." The other said: "I'll go myself and call her wherever she is." So he went himself to call her from the ridge. "She must be gathering some *melloco* down in the gully," said the husband. He, the husband was weaving.

So then he told him to call from the ridge 'Sister Andrea'. So he went and called out 'Sister Andrea'. Then from down below a buzzard answered with a hoarse caw. "You no-good buzzard, do you perhaps think I'm calling to you? I am calling my brother's wife." And cursing the buzzard he came back. When he returned the brother asked: "Have you called her?" "Yes, I called but there's no-one about," replied the other, "an old female buzzard answered me, so I cursed at it and came back." So then his brother said: "Oh, brother, why did you curse it like that? Now what will they do to me when they come? That one is my wife. Now you go back and get married soon and make your other brothers get married soon too. And tell our parents to make their children get married. This has been my fate. Now, go, now that you have seen my situation here," he said.

So then when the buzzards arrived they pulled him to bits, stripping his flesh bit by bit to the bare bones. Then the next evening the buzzards vomited and he revived from their vomit. He came back having seen his brother's fate; reviving he came back and then all the brothers got married.

Informant: GGG, 5th November, 1976

some as for Tale 20, plus:

- C30 Tabu: offending supernatural relative
- T111 Marriage of mortal and supernatural being
- G79.1 Animal-wife devours her husband
- E32.0.1 Eaten person resuscitated
- F81.1.2 Journey to land of dead to visit deceased

Commentary

1.0 Introduction

The texts examined so far have all belonged to the genre category of legend, and it has been possible to relate them substantially to data in the form of memorats and expressions of belief. The tales of the *ullachu* also deal with a local belief, namely that the unmarried would be captured by and married, before or after death, to the turkey buzzard. (1) Enquiries after details of this belief invariably led to a recounting of the tale itself, and in this way six variants from three communities were collected, only two of which I present in full, the others being summarized in Table 1. The theme and structure of Tales 20 and 21 has much in common with the Andean tale type 'The condor and the shepherdess', to be discussed. This, in addition to the fact that the belief was nearly always expressed in the context of the tale, led me to consider them as legend that bordered on folktale or, to put it another way, folktale with an element of belief. This element appeared to be largely responsible for the tale's popularity: it was widely used as a vehicle for the expression of moral and social attitudes towards marriage.

2.0 Narrative structure

Tales 20 and 21 and their variants, and Tale 22 respectively, follow, in my opinion, two distinct sub-types of narrative pattern, each to be found widely in oral narrative in the Andes of Ecuador and elsewhere. As already stated, Tales 20 and 21 are structurally similar to the 'Condor and the shepherdess' type; they can be designated 'Group (i)'. Tale 22, together with a comparative text (GS/CA/18), have other structural affinities; they can be 'Group (ii)'. I shall now discuss each of these groups in turn.

2.1 Group (i)

The Andean tale type which may be labelled 'The condor and the shepherdess' relates how a young girl pasturing the sheep is abducted by a condor in handsome human form and taken to live in his cave. I shall now compare the pattern followed by Ecuadorean and Peruvian versions of that tale with the versions of the turkey buzzard tale from Cañar. This will be done firstly by summarizing the relevant comparative texts in three tables (1-3). Table 1 contains Tales 20, 21, and four other Cañar variants, whose narrators are indicated by their initials. Table 2 outlines Ecuadorean versions of the condor tale, namely: LS/CH/6: '*Cundurndi uwi ja michindi*', IID (1975b:25-28) (Salasaca), Costales and Peñaherrera de Costales (1959:129-133) (Salasaca), and JC/IM/3: '*Shuj cundur shuj llama michi cuitsahuan*'. (2) The two Peruvian versions of the same type, typical of S. Peru, are Argüedas and Stephan (1957:126-138), and Mitchell (1973:117-121).

The application of the function headings drawn up for tales in this section reveals how far the Group (i) tales can be identified with the rest on grounds of structure. Certain features are not accounted for by those broad definitions, in particular the suitor test sequence, and the altered position of the journey function (2), which has a different meaning for the progress of the narrative, taking place as a result of the encounter, rather than leading to it. These features correspond, I believe, to the point at which the texts diverge from the narrative pattern typical of local legend, to follow patterns which have more in common with certain branches of Andean folktale tradition. It will be seen that the Bear's Son tale (23), and the Snake Sister tale (24), treated as folktales, diverge in a comparable way from the legend pattern.

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|------|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|--|--|------|----------------------------|---------------------|
| II | li | buzzard-man (BM) builds house very quickly | xxxx | | (uses 'adablo' as synonym for 'ulacnu') | | | | 4 (Suitor tests) |
| | iii | BM fetches straw, devours mule | | xxxx | (fetches wood, cane & straw) | xxxx | xxxx | | |
| | iv | BM weaves poncho very quickly | | xxxx | xxxx | | | | |
| | v | BM tames wild bull | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx | |
| | vi | wedding | | | | (at door of church, BM won't enter) | | | |
| | vii | BM suggests visit to his family | (he flies her on his back) | | | | | | |
| III | viii | Guacay prepared for in-laws | | | | | | | 2 |
| | ix | arrive at buzzards' cave | | | | | | | |
| | x | buzzard mother-in-law warns H to escape by woods | | | (mother-in-law called 'Mama Ahuar-dona') | | | xxxx | |
| | xi | warning disobeyed, H devoured | | | | | | eaten before journey's end | |
| | xii | dog informs parents | | | | | | | |
| | xiii | parents take home remains | | | | | | | |
| MORAL MESSAGE | xiv | burial | revives from blood | xxxx | place cross where she died | priest blesses bones which reform for burial | | xxxx | 9 |
| | | not good to be choosy | not specified | punished for late marriage | punished for late marriage | punished for pride | | punished for late marriage | . |

Table 2: Ecuadorean versions of 'The condor and the shepherdess'

| Table 2: Ecuadorean versions of 'The condor and the shepherdess' | | | | | |
|--|---------|---|-------------|---|---------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | | | |
| | | LS/CH/6 (key text) | IID (1975b) | Costales&Costales | JC/IM/3 |
| | | girl (H) wants to marry man in high position, out pasturing sheep | | (girl enjoys silence of hills), bathes in condor's pool | 1 |
| I | i | condor as man comes to talk to her | | | 3 |
| | ii | by trick condor carries her away to cave | | | 2/4/7 |
| II | iii | dog leads parents to her | | xxxx | 6 |
| | iv | parents rescue H | | xxxx | |
| | v | H covered in feathers | xxxx | gives birth to feathered child | 5/8 |
| | vi | parents hide H in pot | | xxxx | 6 |
| | vii | condor breaks pot takes H away for good | | H dies, condor sad | 9a/b |
| MORAL MESSAGE | | ambition punished | xxxx | xxxx | xxxx |

Table 3: Peruvian versions of 'The condor and the shepherdess

| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | | FUNCTION |
|---------------|---------|---------------------------------------|-------------------------|----------|
| | | Argüedas&Stephan (key text) | Mitchell | |
| I | | girl (H) pasturing sheep | | 1/2 |
| | i | condor appears in human form | | 3 |
| | ii | regular meetings ensue | xxxx | 4 |
| | iii | H conceives child | (after arrival in cave) | 5 |
| | iv | H goes with condor | (tricked into going) | 7 |
| | v | only raw meat in cave | | |
| II | vi | hummingbird informs parents | | 6 |
| | vii | hummingbird tricks condor & H escapes | | |
| III | viii | condor pursues H | | 3 |
| | ix | hummingbird overcomes condor in fight | xxxx | 6 |
| | x | condor comes to girl's house | | 3 |
| | xi | condor drowns in boiling water | | 9a |
| MORAL MESSAGE | | xxxx | xxxx | |

In broad outline, the pattern is an overall one; a single girl, away from her familiar surroundings, meets and is seduced by a bird lover who takes on human form for the purpose of courtship. She is taken, willingly or by a trick, to the cave dwelling of the latter, from which she attempts to escape, successfully or not. An animal or bird mediates between her and her parents and re-establishes contact between them either before or after her death. The differences between the three sets of texts are also helpful for our understanding of the Cañar versions in the wider context. Immediately apparent is the contrast in the initial situations of those tales where the buzzard is the non-human agent, and those where the condor fills the rôle. This transformation is paralleled by the girl's attendance at Mass on her own and her anti-social refusal of suitors, contrasting with the girl who spends time away from home, in the hills pasturing the sheep alone. In terms of narrative tradition, the

second of these would appear to be the more indigenous. The Ecuadorean tales as a whole favour the dog as intermediary of the heroine's behalf, as opposed to the hummingbird in the Peruvian versions. This suggests a move towards rationalization: it is more reasonable to expect the shepherd girl to be assisted by a dog than by a hummingbird. In Cañar, although the 'shepherding' theme is lacking, the company of a dog on a journey is no less realistic a touch.

Of course the outstanding transformation to be accounted for is that which allows for the buzzard in the Cañar tales to play the rôle filled elsewhere by the condor. This instance is not simply a matter of a shift in surface structure that does not alter the internal meaning or 'function' of the actor in question. The local belief that those who did not marry would be devoured by a non-human spouse was quite emphatically connected with the turkey buzzard, while no reference was found to the condor in this region. So the peculiarity can be explained if we note that in the condor tales - both Ecuadorean and Peruvian - virtually no didactic element is found, whilst in connection with the buzzard, the moral message is practically the tales' *raison d'être*. It would seem that the Cañar texts are indeed an example of the way in which an already existing, traditional, narrative framework can be used for the expression of specifically local beliefs.

A discussion of transformations calls for the inclusion of the outline of a further comparative text, allied closely in narrative pattern with the Group (i) tales:

| JC/IM/9: <i>Shuj usu shuj cuitsahuan</i> | | | |
|--|---------|--|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | shepherd girl (H) pasturing sheep | 1 |
| | i | bear wants to marry her, parents won't agree | 3/4 |
| | ii | bear eats H | 9b |
| II | iii | hummingbird informs parents | 6 |
| | iv | parents take home her remains | |
| | v | H revives from blood placed in trunk | 9a |
| III | vi | bear wants to marry resuscitated H | 3 |
| | vii | parents agree to avoid repeating same | 4 |
| | viii | bear helps build house | |
| | ix | get bear drunk in <i>fiesta</i> | |
| | x | shut bear in house and burn him to death | 9a |

This tale provides Propp's thesis with further support. The substitution of bear for buzzard, or hummingbird for dog, would have virtually no effect on the functions to be extracted from the narrative. This is not to say, however, that it would do nothing to the meaning the tale would have for the listener, that is to say, the different associations that reference to 'bear' or 'buzzard' would evoke. As we have seen, in Cañar the buzzard has a localized and specific rôle in popular lore, while the bear there and throughout the Andes is most commonly connected with the story of the 'Bear's Son'. This Imbabura text, therefore, could be seen to provide a structural link between two widely spread groups of tales: the 'Condor and the shepherdess' on the one hand, and the 'Bear's Son' on the other. Common features of structure between the two sub-types will be discussed in sub-section (f). The comparative text JC/IM/9 is also remarkable in that, while containing the same functions as my Cañar versions, it has re-ordered them to produce a tale whose action is cyclical in nature. Instead of there being a single linear progression from encounter to the final death of the heroine, the resuscitation of the latter gives rise to a further opportunity for the bear to pursue her, and for the action, to some extent, to repeat itself.

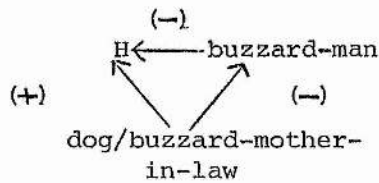
However, the bear's ultimate fate constitutes a structural inversion of the first move: where he had killed her, now she kills him.

Cyclical progression with its complexities of inversions and oppositions is a common feature of traditional Andean narrative: it will be further commented upon in connection with Tale 23, and Tale 24 provides the most outstanding example of it. These remarks bring me to look at the paradigmatic structure of the Group (i) texts.

The implications of the relationship between unmarried girl and buzzard-man reflect anxieties with regard to the social and moral attitudes of the community at large, attitudes connected with marriage in particular. (3) The desirability of marriage, as the institution upon which the economic stability of the individual is founded, is expressed through tales in which the fate of those who do not fulfill society's expectations is described. As is common in folktale, the anxiety is expressed in terms of a struggle between two opposites: in this case, the human heroine and her bird lover. The two belong to opposite spheres: this world and the other world. The heroine is enticed from this world by the bird who, for the purposes of her seduction, steps over the barrier between the spheres by temporarily adopting human form. (4) He goes still further: by successfully completing the 'suitor tasks' set him, he wins her parents' confidence. Thus his non-human qualities are applied in the performance of humanly impossible tasks, so here too the opposing spheres meet.

Mediation on the heroine's behalf occurs twice after her arrival at the other world: both her buzzard-mother-in-law, and her dog attempt mediation on her behalf. Her failure to heed the former's prohibition is the cause of her downfall (Tale 20). The relationships established between H and the other actors could be described by the

triad:



From a cross-comparison of the linear sequences of the tales, it is noticeable that the different versions offer alternative endings: in some the heroine is revived from a drop of her own blood or saved by other means; in others she dies. Such alternatives are to be expected in a tale founded upon the conflict between opposites. The preference for one kind of ending or another may be the result of local convention or individual choice; the psychological reasons, which surely exist, can only be speculated upon. The 'general rule' indicates a prevalence for the triumph of the heroine in the Peruvian texts (where the condor perishes in a pot of boiling water); in the Ecuadorean condor and buzzard tales, the death of the heroine predominates.

2.2 Group (ii)

The theory that the turkey buzzard tales constitute a fusion between local belief legend and Andean folktale is supported, if somewhat indirectly, by the fact that the same belief and its associated preoccupations are to be found expressed in tales from the area of an apparently different pattern. The analysis of these will differ from that of the Group (i) tales, in that few comparative texts were found for other parts of the Andes, but rather comparative evidence of a structural nature is found in other subsections of the Cañar material itself.

2.2.1 Tale 22

The outline of Tale 22 is as follows:

| Tale 22: <i>Huauquindi ullachucunahuan</i> | | | |
|--|---------|---|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | there are two unmarried brothers; one dies, the other follows | 1 |
| | i | the second to die (H2) joins the first (H1) | 7 |
| | ii | H2 goes to call H1's wife, who is gathering <i>mellocos</i> | 3 |
| | iii | finds only a female buzzard, whom he curses | |
| | iv | returns to H1 who is alarmed | |
| | v | buzzards devour H2 | 9b |
| II | vi | buzzards vomit, H2 revives from vomit | 9a |
| | vii | H2 returns home and marries, learning from H1's fate | 9d |
| MORAL | | the unmarried will so be punished in death | |

There are certain shifts in the sequence of functions in this tale which mark it as a separate sub-type; the encounter with buzzard-spouse takes place after arrival at other world, rather than before and leading to it. The circumstances of the encounter could be seen as an inversion of the circumstances pertaining in Tales 20 and 21; in these latter the buzzard-husband's appearance leads him to be treated as a human, which leads to H's downfall. In Tale 22 the buzzard-wife appears in animal form, is treated accordingly and the offence leads similarly to H's death. These differences could be summarized thus:

Tales 20 & 21 : Tale 22
 buzzard as human : buzzard as bird
 this world : other world
 treatment as human : treatment as bird
 fatal sympathy : fatal antipathy

H is devoured

H's subsequent revival from vomit in Tale 22 could be said to fill the same 'slot' as H's revival from a drop of blood which occurs in Tale 21 and in the structurally similar JC/IM/9. The Tale 22 variation no doubt derives from empirical observation of the birds' real life habits. (5)

This tale, therefore, whilst it conveys a moral message similar to that of the Group (i) tales, appears to belong to a different sub-type. The most outstanding aspects in which they differ are firstly, as stated, in the marriage of H to the buzzard taking place after death, instead of constituting the episode that leads to death. This factor does away with the need for the buzzard to take on human form in order to entice the erring human away, which gave Group (i) a close affinity with the 'Condor and the shepherdess' type. Secondly, in Group (ii) the rôle of hero is split equally between two brothers whose functions are interdependent and complementary. It is necessary for H1 to die, in order that H2 might follow him into death, observe his fate, and escape a wiser man. The tale therefore has close similarities of narrative pattern with such devil legends as Tale 5, which also have this 'split hero' feature. There too we saw how H2 followed H1 to hell, saw the fate of his friend, and succeeded in cheating the devil to then return home having, it is understood, learnt a lesson from H1's experience. These structural similarities between *ullachu* tale and devil legend support my suggestion, to be more fully discussed below, that these non-human agents (buzzard and devil) belong to the same realm of associations in the belief system and for this reason can be seen to fill structurally similar rôles in tales of differing manifest content.

2.2.2 GS/CA/18

An examination of the outline of GS/CA/18 will add further to the picture:

| GS/CA/18: <i>Ishcai huaquimanta</i> | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------|---|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | there are two brothers, one dies (H1), the other (H2) sets out to find him | 1/2 |
| | i | H2 arrives at roadside crucifix where <i>caballero</i> gives him directions | 3/6 |
| | ii | meets buzzard-woman in ravine | 3 |
| | iii | H2 sent to fetch mule whose eye he wounds with whip | 4 |
| | iv | H2 returns to buzzard-woman's house | |
| | v | H1 and H2 go to sleep in separate rooms | 9b |
| | vi | H2 hears cries in night | |
| | vii | H2 awakens to find H1 devoured by buzzard-woman, only bones remain | |
| II | viii | H2 takes H1's bones and returns to where crucifix is | 6 |
| | ix | arriving at crucifix H1 revives from bones | 9a |
| | x | H1 warns H2 that he must marry | 6 |
| | xi | H2 returns home where he finds his <i>comadre</i> , with whom he had illicitly cohabited, has a wounded eye | 9d |
| | xii | H2 marries but dies after a year | 9b |
| MORAL | | the unmarried/incestuous will so be punished | |

The initial situation of this text corresponds to that of Tale 22, and Tale 5, and a further structural affinity with the latter lies in Episode (i), where a *caballero* directs H2 to the ravine, just as the *amo* of Tale 5 directs H2 to hell. From this point onwards, however, the similarities are superficial only, and the underlying pattern followed by this more complex tale can more usefully be compared with yet other tale types of the Ecuadorean Andes:

a) GS/CA/14: '*Huahuacunata shitashcamanta*', which starts out as an indian variation of A-T327A: 'Hansel and Gretel'; in it the brother is devoured by a cannibalistic old woman and the sister escapes carrying his bones. On the road she meets a *caballero* who tells her not to look while he makes the brother whole again. Because she breaks this prohibition, the brother is re-formed into a dog instead of a human being. An Imbabura variant of this is to be found in

Parsons's collection (op.cit,132),

b) the encounter with the *comadre* in the form of a mule; whose eye becomes damaged, recalls Parsons's 'The mule women', where a man wandering in the hills is led by the devil to a hell-*hacienda* where he is induced to herd mules, one of whose eyes he damages in the process. Allowed to return home he finds his illicit mistress with a wounded eye (op.cit,137-8). The incident here, as in the Cañar tale, serves to criticize the sin of committing incest within the *compadrazgo* relationship.

The analyses of Tales 22 and GS/CA/18 have served to show the following: that beliefs regarding the *ullachu* are not confined to one tale type, but are found in tales with differing structural features. This reinforces my argument that Tales 20 and 21 and their variants fuse local belief with a traditional narrative pattern elsewhere associated with condor tales. Structural affiliations can be established between Tale 22 and GS/CA/18 and certain types of Cañar devil narrative, tales of the 'Hansel and Gretel' type - which also provide a link with the 'Mama Ahuardona' tales of sub-section (h) - , and other tales of encounters with the other world. The interdependence of structure and content is such that it leads me to suggest that mental associations between categories such as: 'devil', '*ullachu*', 'Mama Andrea', 'cannibalistic old woman', 'Mama Ahuardona', may be set up to account for what appear to be transformations in the content of tales, encouraged by similarities of structure. Categorical connections between the *ullachu* and the devil have already been suggested briefly, and I now take this case to illustrate my point. Additionally, a comparative position in the structure of the narrative between *ullachu* as handsome abductor and devil as the same, as found in Tale 24, can be suggested.

3.0 The *ullachu* and the devil

The fact that the *ullachu* and the devil can be found to perform structurally similar rôles as threatening non-human agents in tales of similar narrative pattern (Tales 22 and 5 in particular), calls for the question: are these motifs transformations which stem from an association between the two in the belief system? By looking at the contexts in which references to the buzzard occur elsewhere in the material, this would appear to be the case. In the broader sphere of popular lore, the bird is considered to be a kind of 'agent of the devil'. That same label attaches to the Mama Ahuardona, as will be seen: in some versions of tales featuring her she is found in company with numerous devil offspring. So a family likeness between buzzard, Mama Ahuardona, and devil suggests itself.

As far as specific association with the devil is concerned, there is various evidence: GS/CO/7: "*Ullahuangamanta*" describes how in a former age the *ullahuanga* birds were servants of God. (6) They miscarried his orders and as a punishment were cursed and condemned to eat rotting meat. GS/CA/13: "*Noen arcata rurashcamanta*" is a more complex narrative, the first part of which follows the biblical story of Noah's Ark. It provides the context for the *ullachu*'s misbehaviour and subsequent cursing. In discussing the content of the devil narratives, I dealt with the *ullachu* as a motif, noting how in Tale 10 we are told how the chief devil uses an a buzzard-feather quill pen, and in Tale 7 how the heroine is threatened by a flock of the birds immediately prior to her encounter with the devil. In Tale 11, again during the meeting of devils in a deserted building, the narrator uses the term *ullahuanga* synonymously with *diablo*, and in Tale 12, these birds act as lookouts for the devils. Thus the structural connection between the Group (ii) tales and local devil legends

probably derives from the wider association between the two figures apparent from a study of other contexts in which the two are juxtaposed. It might be concluded that a connection at a level of content (devil and buzzard belong to the same sphere in the belief system), became a connection at the level of structure (devil narrative and buzzard narrative coincide in narrative pattern).

FOOTNOTES

(1) *Cathartos burroviana* Cass. - a carrion-eating bird not unlike a small vulture in appearance, often to be seen wheeling in the sky above the páramo. cf. Parsons records the anxiety prevailing in Cayambe and Otavalo if someone of marriageable age should die celibate: it is believed that he/she will be married in death to a she/he goat (op.cit.59).

(2) An Ecuadorean version collected by Roswith Hartmann has also been brought to my attention.

(3) The sociological questionnaire together with information gathered in informal conversations confirmed that social expectation pressurizes the average woman into marriage between 16-20 years; men between 18-22 years. Bachelor- and spinster-hood are viewed with disapproval, suspicion, and, at the least, pity.

(4) A universal motif: a Lisu folktale from N. Thailand, an analysis of which was brought to my notice, contains a dragon-king who carries off his bride by the same means; the article is also of interest for the similarities between the author's method of analysis and my own (Durrenberger:1978).

(5) As we learn from Garcilaso: "*hay otras aves grandes negras que los indios llaman 'suyunty' y los españoles 'gallinaza'; son muy tragones de carne, y tan golosas, que si hallan alguna bestia muerta en el campo comen tanto de ella, que aunque son muy ligeras, no pueden levantarse al vuelo por el peso de lo que han comido. Entonces cuando sienten que va gente a ellas van huyendo a vuela pie, vomitando la comida por descargarse para tomar vuelo; es cosa donosa ver el ansia y la prisa con que echan lo que con la misma comieron.*" (1960,II:320)

(6) The Quichua terms *ullahuanga*, *uschcu* and *ullachu* were used synonymously in Cañar.

Section A sub-section (f): The Bear's Son tale

TextTale 23: Osopa churi

I

Shug huarmizitu rishca nin maichari sachá lllaghtaman vidata mashcaringapa. Chaimanta tupashca nin shug osohuan. Osoca aparin nin paipa huarmita ruhuashpa chaipi causangapa montañapi. Entonces nicugpi ña huata ña yalli charishca shug huahuitata. Chaica c'ari churi cashca nin chai osopaca. Chai huahuitaca huiñana huiñan. Juin llullumi, ña jatunyan. Osoca apamunata yachashca nin tucui huarmi imatami necesitan chaíta apamunata yachashca. - Ri mangata amugri.

- Ari - nishca nin.

Pasajerocunapaman maipi sueñucugpi chai mangata shuhuamungapa rishca.

- Ri yantata amugri.

- Ari - nishpa yantata amugrishca.

- Ri ninami illan. Ninata japichi. Nucaca mana chahuata micunichu.

Yanushpami micuni. Ninata amugri.

Entonces pasajeroconaman maipichá ramada maipi cashpapish sueñuna yachashcacuna. Chaimanta rig cashca uwin nina huizhu o fosforosta shuhuamungapa. Huiñacun. Bueno: - Necesitani cunanca shug plato. Cuchara ñuca necesitan.

- Ari - nishpa chaíta lo mismo apamuna.

Tucuitapish solo pobre pasajeroconapata. Numpa tiempo como puro pasajeros, cunanmi carro, cunanmi maquina, cunanmi avion tiyan. Numpa tiempo mana tiyana cashca ni ima. Shinaca chai pasajeroconuna puro bestiallapi puricuna cashca. Apashpa ima necesariocunata caimanta ni chai lllaghtamanta. Entonces apash shamushpa ña cugpica huarmica contento almuersota ruhuan. Tucui necesariosta tucui cumplin.

Entonces chai huahuitaca tiyagpica ña juicio yuyash rishca chai uchilla c'arizitua. Ña jatunyan, ña corriente huambritu tucumushca. Tapushca nin mamaman: - ¿Imaraicuta, mama, canca cai cueva cai sachá ima maita mana ripagpica ima shinata causacungui? ¿Manachu maiman ima llugshinata maimantata shamucungui? Cunanca jacu - nishca nin -, maimanta shamush cashpaca ñucanchi rishun chaipi ñuca rigsigrisha ninimi. Mana caipi causasha ninichu.

- ¿Imamanta rishunyari, hijo? Camba taita shamushpaca ñucanchitaca huañuchingami.

- ¿Imamanta huañuchinga? Ñucanchi rishunllami. Chai animaltaqa maiman aviash cachai. Ñucanchica ñanta japirishun.

Chaimanta nishca nin richun amungapa ninata huañuchig tucushca nin.

Entonces ña: - Cunan ninata apamugri. ¿Imahuanta japichishun ninata?

Ima mana yanui pudinchichu.

Ari nishpa rina nin osoca apamungapa. Mana conseguí pudishca utcataca chai ninataca. Paicunaca madrugashpa ña oso rigpica chai ratollata ña ñanta japichishoacuna, viaje ñanta, mamandi.

Ña docetachari osoca chayamush canga nin paipa huasimanca, chai chuglla, mai cueva, maipi cashpapish, chaiman. Y mana tarin. Chaquita c'atishpa shamushca osoca. Maichari shug jatun mama yacuta ña tucui pasacugpi mamaca ricunata avansashca nin oso shamugta. Chaica: - Canca nircangui mana japingachu, ¿mana ima ricungachu manchu ningui? Chaica cambia taitaca ña shamunmi.

Maitachari osoca puro callpashca shamucushca nin. Chaimanta nishca nin: - Mana mama, ama cazoichu. Apamui ligerito pasashun. Ñami yacupi canchi, ligero pasashun.

Jatun semejante mama yacu tucui pasashcahuanca entonces machete aisash cashca nin. Osoca nadashpa pasagríppica puro singallapi macheteshi polvushca nin. Na singapi tucui ñutcuta polvushcaca mana pudishca nin llugshinata; yacu aparin. Chaimantaca mamata pushan rin. Chaica: - Riqui mama shina rinallami. Canca manchacungui. Jacu - nishca nin.

II

Chaimanta chayashca shug llagtaman. Chaipi chayashpaca nishca nin: - Ñucanhi caipi maipi casi shug posadata mañashun caipi causangapa. Pueblopi chayashpaca shug huasita arrendashun - nishca nin. Mana arrendachishcachu huasiyu dueñucunaca. Mañachishcalla tiyacuchun: - Pobre forasterocuna imaimantachari shamurca? - nish. Paicunapa trabajos ña maita cuita shamushcataca parlagpica de consideracion. Chaipi causacuchun. Chaimanta huambritutaca escuelapi churashca.

Escuelapi churashca purigpica huambracuna molesti callarishca nin: - Oso! Oso! - nishpa -, oso! - nishca nin.

Huambraca entonces cashca nin ña chuggimanta huichaimanca cuerpo ña cristiano cabal. Uraimanca entonces ciertochari carca nin ña oso creditashuan cashca guerpocunaca. Chaimanta entonces imatami ruhan: mamaca escuelapi churashca puricugpica huambracunaca molesti callarishca nin: - Oso! - nishpa.

Pimi molestan chaitacari shug huagtaimi cosa que maita cachag cashca nin. Chaimanta profesora nishca nin que huambraca mana allichu caipi cagrin. Huambracunataca caipica juin huambra molestosocunaca: - Vamos, oso! - nishpa nin.

P'iñachicuna cashca nin: - Vamos oso, vos sois animal! - nig cashca nin.

Chaimanta huambrituca shug punzhaca profesortaca nishca nin: - Señor profesor, ñucaman cai favorta ruhuat. Uchilla huambracunata alvertinata que ama ñucata molestachun animalpi churashpa. Ñuca mamaca cristianomi, mana animalchu. Chairaicumi ñucatapish escuelapi educacionta churarca, ñucaca animal cashpaca ñucaca mana escuelapi caimanchu. Favorta ruhuachun que ama ashun molestanata. Shina alvertishpa cuchun. Profesora nishca nin: - Muchacho malcriados canacunaca shina molestanguichi. ¿Imaracuta chaíta shina ruhuanguichi? Mana allichu chashna ruhuana, chashna rimanaca. Por algomi educacionpi canguichi. Ñucata hasta que malpi churanguichi imanchu? Ñucaca canacunataca caipica educacuni imata,

Cutin shug viaje cutinllata huillana nin. Ña ishcai, quimsa, chuscu cutin huillana nin: - Chashnami molestan. Ñuca mana aguantagrínichu. Señor profesor, ama sentimiento charingüichu? Yupai propasanmi. Chaimanta nishca nin profesora: - Cuidado pagta imata ruhuarman cai huambringu; ñucaca alverticunimi. Educacionpi canguichi. Imata ruhuashpata canacunaca malcriados tariringuichi juin propasashpami can - nishpami nirca.

Chai huambracunaca chai ratoca humilde nin, mana ima ninchu.

Pero ña canzhaman llugshin. Recreopica ña molestan: - Shug oso! - ninmi -, oso! oso! - caparina nin -, shug oso! - nicuna nin carumantaca.

Entonces chaipi shug huambra japig tucun. Shug huagtai solo chai huambrataca eternidadman cachashca. Chaimantacari ña entonces autoridadca nishca nin: - Cai huambrata japish prezuna.

Los demas huambracunaca cutin testigopi servishca nin, si paicunallatami caparishpa molestanata yachan 'oso' nishpa. Yupai propasashcami carca. Chaimantami mana aguantashpa cai viajeca chaíta ruhan. Paillatami mashcarca. Bueno, autoridadca nishca nin: - Todavía muchacho, ni imata ruhuana mana pudinchi.

Cunan cutin: - Bueno - ninmi nin -, escuelallapita educash c'atichun. Quizas paipish cuentapi urmash ringa.

Chaimantaca escuelapi cashca cutin, Puricuna nin cutin shug 'oso oso' ni callarin nin unai punshacunallapi ña cungachishpallaca. Cutin chai huambata c'atish callpashpaca pai huambra atish callpacugpi huashamanta huagdashpaca, gugutipi huagdashpaca shug huagtai chai pambapi urmachin nin. Singa ñahui urmasheca, rumipi urmasheca, Chaipi saquirishca. Chaimanta nishca nin: - Cunanca cai huambata cai ima shinata caipi charicui mana pudinchichu. Muchachos malcriados juin molestan. Chaipi jahuapi ña huambata ña ishcaita huañuchin. Cunanca manachari pudigri-nichu caipica. Ña ashtan juicioyamuna nin pero ña ashtan jatun nin. Ratito paicari huiñacun nin. Entonces ña qu'ipaman escuelamanta llugshin.

Cutinllata escuelapi churashca nin. Escuelapi churagpica shug profesor cambiashca cashca nin. Chai profesora mana yachashca nin oso pai imata ruhanata yachashcataca. Entonces chaipica chasquisheca. Si paillata canman carea mana chasquinman cashca pi cashpapi profesorca. Entonces chaipi escuelapi puricun. Cutin nishca nin shug huambrahuan shinami p'iñanacushca nin escuelapi. Profesora mana yachaihuanca rishca nin castigangapa. Imahuanchari castigagrirca. Oso tigrarin chaíta japin, quichun urata shitan profesortaca. Shug huagtai maitachari banca jahuata cashashca nin muspaga. Chaimanta entonces cai huambra caíta ruhan. Cunanca autoridadman huillan.

Autoridadca nishca nin: - Cai huambata ña chashmallatami ña tiempo mana pudinchichu imata ruhanata, todavía muchacho. Mejor cai lllagtamanta cambiashun.

Chaipica nishca nin maijanta mama maijanta taita cayanami caítaca caipi aclarangapa. - Cai huambra cashca taririn ima shinatachari pudishun.

Cai lllagtapica mana conservai pudinchi. Mejor chaipa randica maita cashashun, mai shug lllagtaman aviashun.

Ari nishpa entonces ña autoridadca shina nishcaca japishcacuna shug caballota mañashca nin qutoridadca. Shug caballo bien aperadota cushca nin. Chaíta cugpica nishca nin: - Cai caballotaca ñuca mana ima chasquinichu. Nucaca mejor chaipa randica rigrinimi ashun lado convento, maipimi ñucaman convenin, chaipimi rini cangapa. Shina nishpa rishca nin.

III

Cutin maijanchari nishca nin: - Cunanca cai huambata ashata manchaita yaicuchunca. Ashun ucupi churanhi shugca cutin ataudhuan shamushpa tiyarinchi chai ucupi. Pai solito tiyacugpica chai ataud ucumantaca 'taj taj' nichishun ruido ruhuashpa. Entonces manchaihuanca huambata ña alli chiringallami.

Ña shugca ataudpi yaicun, shug amsa puralla ucupi. Huambataca prezocummi nishca chai ucupi churan. Chai ucupi cashca nin huambata punguta huichcash saquin. Shugca ataud ucupi tiyacun, siricun entonces. Huañushcami caipi nishpa huillashca huambamancá. Chaimantaca ña unai ña juin pura ucupi huichcashca tiyacushpallata. Cagpica cungaila ataud ucumanta 'taj taj taj' nichig cashcaila. 'Taj taj taj' nichicun nin. 'Taj taj taj' huambataca manchayaicupipi churangami. Manchaipi churasha nishpa.

Imata huambata manchanga nin! Jatarish nin: - ¿Qué quieres vos? No ves que ya estás muerto, ¿por qué no mueres del todo? - ninmi nin. Cutin 'taj taj' nichin nin quizás manchanga nish. Ataudta japin, pambapi alli tacanacun, pascan. Chaimantaca pascarishca nin ataudca. Chai ucupi llullashpa tiyacugtaca, siricugtaca, japin. De una vez huañuchishca nin. Chaimanta tapachishca nin ataudtaca. Chaimanta paica tiyacuna nin bancapi.

Unai alli unaipi shamunmi autoridadea ricungapa huambra manchaihuarmi canga, llugshingapa canshaman. Imata manchanaihuan canga sino es que ña huañushishea shug ataud ucupi cagtaca. Chaimantaca nishca nin:

- Juan Dilo, a ver, canshaman llugshi - nishca nin.

- Ña llugshigrinimi, ña llugshigrinimi. Caipi canguna nircanguichi ña huañushcami nishpa. Mana ima tucui huañushcachu cashca, Ashun ataudta ruidota ruhuashpa, 'taj taj' nichishpa, 'tarag' nichishpa caipi, ñucataca ashun molestashpa. Ñuca rabiarish jatarishpaca cunanmi de verastami huañushca. Llullashpa cashca manapish huañushpa ataud ucupi siricushca. Cunanmi huañurca. Cunancari huañuchircanimi, ñuca quiquin huañuchini.

- Ayayay, ¿ciertotachu huañurca?

Callpash rigugrincuna nin autoridadecunaca. Ciertu ima tiempo huañushca. Chiriyashca ña. Ataudtaca paillata pascashca. Tablahuan paquinacushca tucui taririna nin ataudrucuca. Ña huañuchishea.

- Ayay caitachu ruhuanga - nishpa autoridadea ninmi nin -, cai huambra-huan mana causaichu. ¿Imatata ruhuanchi? ¿Imata ruhuaipa canchi? - nishca nin.

Cutin paicunapura huillanacushca.

Chaipeca ninmi nin, cutin shugca ninmi nin: - Entonces cunanca ¿imatata ruhuashun? Cunan shug ucuta juteushun pura ucupi. Chai ucupi juteushpaca entonces chaipi shug yaicushpa shug baldeta aisash yaicugrishun chaipi, shug calaveratapish apamushpaca, shug huañushca calaverataca chai lado-llapi churashpa chaita ricushpaca huambra manchanaihuan tiyacunga ucumantaca baldehuan umapimi shitashun 'tarag' nichishun. Chaica quizas arrepentirishpa quizas mana ashun chaita ruhuanga.

- Alli ninguitami. Chai allillatami. Shina ruhuashun - nishca nin.

Shugca achca ucuta juteushca nin puralla ucupi. Chai ucupi yaicushca nin. Balde apashea, isheai baldecunata. Huambrataca prezush ucupi yaicuchin. Punguta llave shitan. - Ucupi shug calavera tiyacushca.

Cuidado pagta cai rimarinllami - nishpashi autoridadea ricuchish saquin shug calaverata. Tiyacushca nin chaipi huambra ladollapi.

- Caimi rimarinata yachan. Caica pedradanllami - nishpashi nishca. Chaimanta punguta llave saquina nin. Huambra nishca nin: - Siquiera lusta saquichiari. Cai purapishi saquinguichi ñucata - nishca nin.

Imata mana uyash desentenderishpa rincuna nin. - Lusta apamuichi.

Mana cashpaca ñuca maijan caipi cagpi ñuca huañuchish shitanimi. Chaipi nishca nin: - Mana manchaihuanca imatacha ruhuanga - nicunllami -, vivisallamanta shina nicun canshaman llugshichun nishpallami - nicun ninacushca nin.

Chaimanta huambrataca ucu chai shug juteu purallamantaca huambra purapi tiyacupica baldehuan 'tarag' nichicun nin 'tarag' nichicun in.

'Tarag' nichigpica huambra nina nin: - Favorta ruhuangui, upalla siricunata. Pagta ñuca jatarishpaca cutin imata ruhuaiman.

Cuando ucumanta baldecunahuanca c'atigpi c'atigpi 'tarag tarag' huambra umapica. Huambra maitami balde shamurca purapi tanteash rishpaca.

Tuparishcashi juteupi cagta 'aaa' ninmi nin. Huañushca tucushpa japishpaca de una vez 'aaa' nichishca nin ashuan. De una vez despachashca nin chaipi.

Unaipi shamun autoridad punguta pascan. Chai huambra tupan nin:

- Ña llugshi, hijo, llugshi. ¿Manchanaihuanchu tiyacungui?

- ¿Imata manchanaihuan casha? Ashun irashuan tiyacuni. Cai ucuman cai shug yaicushca cai ucupi. Baldecuna apashea. Ñucata casi umata paquin puntai baldehuan pedradashpa. Ña japish de una vez despacharcanimi.

Chai jutcullapitami siricun - nishca nin.

Ricugrincuna. Ciertota huañug siricushca nin chaipi. - Ña mana vida valor tiyanchu caihuanca. Cunan aviashun shug lllaghtaman.

- Bueno - nishca nin autoridadca -, cunanca cucayuta cushun. Shug caballota sillashpa cushun. Cushun shug armamento. Cushun shug arginas cullqui. Cushun huallpa, cuicuna, alli cucayuta cushun. Alli caballopí sillashpa cushun montashca richun.

Chaita ruhuashcacuna.

IV

Ña bueno. Caballopí montan. Despedirina rin ña tucui alli armashuan. Tucui punzha purishca, tucui punzha. Caballo montashpa rishca. Shug montañapi chayashca ña montañapi tucui punzha rishpa. Ña tucui tuta-yacugta entonces ricunata avansashca nin shug huasita ñan cuchupi, sacha ucupi. Chaipi maijanchari pichari chaipi ricurina cashca nin. Nishca nin: - Ama chai huasipi ringuichu samaringapa. Jichushca huasimi, hacienda jichushcami. Chaipi cagpi pacarigcunaca tucupish huañuncunallami. Tucui viajerosmi lo mas huañuncuna chaipi.

Chaipi nishca nin: - Mana, ima shina cagpipish, chaicunatacha chai ruhuagpi, pero ñucataca mana ruhuangachu. Rinimi chaipi posangapa. Cayashpa yaicuna nin. Paica mana creishca. Picuna shitashca siricushca nin huasi haciendaca. Ucuman yaicun, caballota canzha qu'ihuapi huatan. Sillata pascan. Paica ucuman yaicush tiyacusheca nin, Rishca nin espelmahuan, fosforo, tucuihuan cachashca nin, tabaquito, tucui. Ñacha las nueve de la noche nin, yallipish.

Chaipica ña jahua altomantaca rimarinmi nin: - Rinimi uraicungapa, rinimi uraicungapa.

Paica ninmi nin: - Uraicui, uraicui - nishca nin.

Lusta japichish tiyacusheca nin. Reciencito micugricushca nin huallpitata, huallpa yanushca cashca nin, cucayutaca. Entonces ña urmagta ricushpaca arginastaca de contado siran, churan chaipi, tiyacun paica. Chaipica urmana nin shug lado changa. Cutin qu'ipata lo mismo shinallata ninmi nin: - Rinimi uraicungapa.

- Uraicui, uraicui entonces. Uraicui.

Cutin shug lado changa urmana nin 'paglla'. Siricuna nin chaipi. Cutin ninmi nin: - Rinimi uraicungapa. Uraicugrinimi, uraicugrinimi - ninmi nin.

Uraicui uraicui nigpica ña uma urmana nin. Cutin shug nigpica cutin urmana nin shug lado costillas, rigra urmana nin. Chaimanta ña enterrarina niari cristiano tucushpa.

Siricushpaca paica chapash tiyacun nin, lusta japichish. Paica shug buen nerviohuan cashca nin. Chapash tiyacun nin. Chaimantaca ña changa, rigracuna, uma, costillascuna, tucui urmashpaca entonces ña contado jatarin niari ña causarishpa, enterrarish. Jatarishcahuanca fuera paita ña tiyacugpi chayashca japirishpaca ña casi mana imanagta ruhuagriniari. Paica 'tas' jatarin igual macanacui callarishca nin. Chai cashcanga nin alma condenado, pi cashpapi cash haciendayuca chai altopi cashca nin. Shinashpa yanga gentecunahuan macanacucushpa paica ña ima shina cashpa anyash ima shina huañuchig cashca lo demas posadorcunataca. Pero osotaca mana pudishca. Tucui tuta macanacushpa pacarishca nin: cai shugca puntaí punete jaitashpa paica puntaí nervio pero cada shitaita cosa que cushuman arrimaglla cashca nin. Tucui tuta pacarinata avansashca nin macanacushpa,

Ña las cuatro de la mañana cashcanga nin mas o menos. Chaipi entonces ninmi nin: - Cunanca unico canmi c'ari cashcanguí, Jacu ricuchisha cunan caipimi tucui cosascuna charini, Caitami guardiashpa tiyacurcani,

Cunan caimi camba, Canmi ñucataca cunanca salvangui, entonces cunancari canman regalagrini.

Charishca nin cai tucui enteros: jahua altopi cai mundo cullquicuna, maravillas, tucui huacaichishcacuna. Tucui ucuta, tucui corral, tucui mai, tucui patiota, ricuchishpa tucui shina cugpi ña gloriacuna nin. Riirimugrin nin. Pai ricuchish pushash puricugllapita. Chashnashpashi chai huasiyu dueñotaca salvash canga nin chai osoa. Y pai saquirishca chaipi causangapa.

The bear's son

I

There was a woman who went to the *sacha* country to seek a living. There she met a bear. The bear made her his wife and carried her away to live with him in the undergrowth. After something more than a year she gave birth to a son by the bear. The child grew and grew. The bear used to bring everything his wife needed. "Go and fetch me a cooking pot."

"Yes," he would say.

And he would go and steal the pot from travellers sleeping by the way.

"Go and fetch firewood."

"Yes," and he would go to fetch wood.

"Go and fetch me fire. I cannot eat raw food. I eat cooked food.

Fetch fire."

So he would go to where the travellers were sleeping in some little house built of sticks and steal embers or matches from them. The child grew. Then the woman said: "Now I need a plate and a spoon."

"Yes," said the bear and he brought them.

He took everything from travellers. For in the old days people only travelled on horseback. Nowadays there are buses, trains, and planes. Those travellers would be carrying all the necessities for their journey, and the bear would steal from those things. When he gave her the things, his wife would then happily prepare lunch.

Gradually the child grew up and began to be aware of his surroundings. One day he asked his mother: "Why do you live in this cave in the bush, mother? You seem to have no intention of leaving to go back where you came from. Let's go. I want to see the place where you come from. I don't want to live here."

"How can we leave here, son? When your father comes he will kill us."

"Why should he kill us? We shall just go. You send that animal on some errand and we'll take to the road."

Then the woman let the fire go out and sent the bear off to fetch a means of lighting it: "Go and bring me fire. What shall we light the fire with? We have no way of cooking."

Agreeing, the bear set off. But he was unable to find fire quickly. Meanwhile the bear's son and his mother got up early while the bear was away and took to the road.

It must have been midday when the bear arrived back at his home and found they had gone. Following their footprints he came after them. As they were crossing over a great wide river, the mother saw him approaching; "You said he wouldn't catch us," she said to her son, "but there's your father coming for us."

And the bear came running after them. Then the bear's son said:

"Don't worry, mother. Now we're in the river, let me carry you and we'll cross it quickly."

Now as they were crossing the river, the boy was holding a *machete* in his hand. As the bear came swimming across after them he gave the animal

a blow on the snout. With his head split open, the bear couldn't get out of the river but was carried away by the current. And the boy carried his mother safely over; "There you see, mother, there is no need to be afraid. Let's go."

II

After that they arrived in a town. On arriving, the boy said: "Let's see if we can rent a house in this town and live here."

But the landlords did not rent them a house, they just lent them one, and wondered where the strangers came from. They commented amongst themselves upon their arrival. And there they let them live. Then the bear's son was sent to school.

When he was at school the other children began to tease him, saying: "Bear boy! Bear boy!"

From the waist upwards the youth had the body of a human being, but downwards he had the hairy body of a bear. So when his mother sent him to school his companions teased him calling him 'bear'. Then anybody who teased him was likely to be felled in a single blow. The teacher saw that it was not going to be good for the child to be in school, for the other boys taunted him and angered him by saying: "Bear! Bear! Come on, bear! You're an animal!"

After that, one day the bear boy said to his teacher: "Sir, do a favour for me by telling my classmates not to tease me by calling me an animal. My mother is a human being, not an animal. That is why she sent me to school. If I were an animal I would not be at school." And so he asked the teacher to warn the children. The teacher spoke; "You ill-mannered boys, why do you treat the bear boy like that? It is not good to do and say those things. For some reason you are at school. Why, your behaviour even reflects badly on me. I am here trying to teach you."

On several further occasions the bear boy told the teacher: "This is how they tease me. I am not going to put up with it. Sir, have you no feelings? They abuse me too much."

So the teacher said: "I am warning you to be careful that this lad does nothing to you. You are receiving education, so why do you behave so badly, abusing him so much?"

And at that moment the schoolchildren stood humbly without saying anything.

But when they went out into the yard, they began to tease again: "Bear! Bear! Bear!" they called to him from the distance.

Then the bear boy grabbed one of them and with a single blow sent him to eternity. After that the authorities said: "That youngster must be taken prisoner."

The other schoolboys served as witnesses to the fact that they themselves were in the habit of teasing the boy by calling him 'bear'. They had pushed him too far until, unable to take any more, he had reacted violently. The dead boy had asked for trouble. So the authorities said: "He's still a child, we cannot do anything." And then: "Let him go on attending the same school. Perhaps he will change his ways."

So he went back to school again. After several days, however, his companions forgot themselves and began to jeer him again: "Bear! Bear!" The bear boy ran after one of the boys and overcame him from behind,

He dealt him a single blow in the neck and sent him to the ground where he fell face down on a stone and remained there. Thereupon the people said: "Now we cannot keep this child here if he behaves like this. Those bad-mannered boys tease him. The youngster has killed two people now. Now we really cannot keep him here."

For now the bear's son was growing bigger and becoming more aware of things. He grew very quickly indeed. So once again he left the school.

Then he was put back into school again, but this time with a different teacher. That teacher didn't know of the bear's son's past history, so he accepted him. If it had been the same teacher as before, he would never have received him. So there he was at school again. And again he got into a fight with one of his classmates. The teacher, not knowing the danger, went to punish the boy with some weapon or other. The bear's son turned around and threw the teacher across the room, over the top of the school benches, until he fell unconscious. That is what the boy did. Then the authorities were told.

The authorities said: "This youngster has been behaving in this way for some time and there is no way we can punish him for he's still a child. It is best that we send him to live in another town."

Having decided this they called for his mother to talk the matter over: "Your son is behaving in this way and there is nothing we can do. We cannot keep him any longer in this town. Instead of that, it's best we send him away to some other town."

As everyone agreed, the authorities lent the boy a well-bridled horse. When they gave it to him, the boy said: "I will not accept this horse. Instead of that I would do better to go to some convent to live." And so saying, he went.

III

Then some certain people (in the convent) said: "Now let's give this youngster a scare. We will place him in a room and one of us will come with a coffin and lie down inside the coffin in that room. Then when he is alone in the room, the person inside the coffin shall make a tapping sound. We shall soon have the lad cold with fear."

So one of them got into a coffin inside a dark room. They captured the boy and placed him in the room. Then they closed the door on the boy. One of them was lying there inside the coffin and they told the boy that it was a dead man. So he sat there locked inside the room in pitch blackness. As he sat there, a tapping sound was heard to come from inside the coffin: 'Tap tap tap' the man sounded from inside the coffin thinking that it would give the boy a fright.

But as if the bear's son would be afraid! Getting up, he went over to the coffin: "What do you want? Don't you realise you're dead? Why don't you die properly?" he said.

Again the man made the tapping sound hoping to frighten the lad. But the boy took hold of the coffin and dashed it on the ground. Whereupon it burst open. Then he took hold of the deceitful man lying inside it and killed him once and for all. Then he placed the lid back on the coffin. Then he sat down on a bench.

After a long while the authorities came to see whether the boy was afraid and to let him out. But he wasn't frightened at all, in fact he had now killed the man inside the coffin. They called to him: "Juan Dilo (Juan del Oso), come out."

"I'm coming, I'm coming, You told me this person was dead, But he wasn't entirely dead after all, He annoyed me by tapping and banging from inside the coffin. Annoyed, I got up and really killed him. He was lying there inside the coffin pretending to be dead when he wasn't at all, But now he died. Now I killed him myself."

"Oh no! Is it true?" and the authorities ran to take a look, He had indeed been stone dead for some time, The boy himself had opened the coffin. It was split open and its boards broken. And the boy had killed the man inside. "Oh no! Can he really have done this?" said the authorities, "there is no way of living peacefully with this lad. What shall we do now?" And between them they devised another idea.

Said one of them: "Now what shall we do? Now we shall make a hole in a dark room. Then one of us shall climb into that hole with a bucket and at the side of the hole we shall place a skull so that when the boy sees it he will be afraid. Then the person shall emerge from the hole and hit the boy over the head 'bang' with the bucket. Perhaps then he will repent of everything he has done."

"That's a good idea," said the rest, "we'll do that."

So one of them hollowed a deep hole in the dark room and climbed into it taking two buckets with him. They took the bear's son prisoner, placed him in the room and locked the door. "There's a skull inside this room, be careful for it may speak by itself," so saying they showed him the skull as they locked him into the room. The skull was sitting on the floor beside the boy. "This skull speaks and may attack you," they said as they turned the key. Then the child called: "At least leave me a light. You are leaving me here in complete darkness."

But they went away pretending not to hear.

"Bring a light. If you don't, I'll kill anybody who may be in here."

"He'll be too frightened for doing that," they said, "he's just saying that so that we will let him out."

Then the person who was hiding in the hole began to make banging noises on the bucket in the darkness. When he heard the sound, the bear's son cried: "Do me a favour: be quiet. Don't make me get up for I might do anything to you."

But from the hole the person continued by hitting the boy repeatedly on the head with the bucket. The boy in turn felt in the darkness in the direction of the blows. On being found, the man in the hole cried 'aaa'. The boy took hold of him and caused him to cry out some more, then once and for all he killed him.

After a while the authorities came and opened the door. They asked the youngster: "Come out, sonny. Are you frightened?"

"As if I'd be frightened! On the contrary, I'm angry. Somebody else came into this room along with me, carrying a bucket. He almost split my head open with it. So I took hold of him and finished him off. He's lying just there in that hole."

They went to have a look: sure enough he was lying there dead.

"There is nothing more we can do with this lad. We shall send him away to another town," said the authorities, "let's give him some food for the road, a horse and saddle, arms and a bag of silver. We'll give him a good food parcel of chicken and guinea-pig. And we'll send him on his way on a good mount."

And that is what they did.

IV

Well, so the bear's son mounted his horse, took up his weapon and said goodbye. He rode all day long until he finally arrived in an area of *montaña*. As night was falling, he made out a house in the forest at a bend in the road. At that moment somebody or other appeared before him and said: "Don't seek lodging in that house. It's an abandoned *hacienda*. All those who pass the night there meet their death." But the bear's son replied: "Whatever may happen to others, no harm will come to me. I am going to seek lodging there." He did not believe the warning and entered the *hacienda*, calling out as he went. He left his horse tied up to graze outside, untied his saddlebag, and went into the *hacienda* where he sat down. He had all provisions with him: candles, matches, tobacco. It must have been about nine o'clock at night or later.

Then a voice was heard from up above: "I'm coming down, I'm coming down." And the boy replied: "Come down, come down." As he said it he lit a candle. He had been about to eat a little cooked chicken he had with him. But then when he saw what was happening, he closed his bag again and put it aside. Then a leg fell through the air and landed beside him. Shortly afterwards, he heard the same words again: "I'm coming down." "Come down then, come down." Again on the other side of him a leg fell 'thump' to the ground and lay there. Then the voice came again: "I'm coming down. I'm going to come down." As the boy called 'Come down', a head fell to the ground. Each time he spoke, something fell: this time some ribs, then an arm, then more ribs, then another arm. After that all these limbs buried themselves and thus formed themselves into a human being again.

The boy continued to lie there watching out by the light of his candle. He had a good strong whip with him and he lay watching. Then the legs, the arms, the head, the ribs, everything that had fallen, stood up again, coming back to life after burying itself. As it got up it went over to the boy and grabbed him in order to do him harm. But the youth leapt up and began to fight back. That creature must have been a condemned soul, probably that of the owner of the *hacienda*. He had always fought and killed the ordinary people who came there to lodge without any difficulty. But he could not do so with the bear's son. They fought each other all night: one with his fists and the other with his whip drove his opponent into a corner. The whole night went by and still they fought.

It must have reached about four o'clock in the morning when the condemned soul said: "You are the only one who has proved to be a real man. Let's go and I'll show you my possessions. I've been here guarding them and now they are yours. You have saved me now, so I make you this gift."

He had all kinds of wonderful treasures, enough to make you weep. He showed the bear's son through all the rooms of the house, the farmyard and the patio. Then the dawn broke. Dawn broke just as he was leading the boy through the property showing him everything. So it was like that that the bear's son saved the condemned soul of the *hacienda* owner. And he himself stayed there to live.

Informant: JMD, 15th August, 1976

cf. A-T 301: The bear's son; A-T 326: The youth who wanted to learn what fear is.

- B601.1.1 Bear steals woman and makes her his wife
- B600.2 Animal husband provides characteristic animal food
- B635.1 The bear's son. Human son of woman who marries bear
acquires bear characteristics
- F611.1.1 Strong man son of bear who has stolen his mother
- R45.3.1 Bear keeps human wife captive in cave with stone at
entrance
- L114.3 Unruly hero
- B631 Human offspring from marriage to animal
- A1415.2 Theft of fire by animals
- A1400 Acquisition of human culture
- F611.3.1 Hero's precocious strength
- F612.2 Strong hero kills playmates: sent from home
- H1461 Test: sitting up with corpse
- H1410 Fear test: staying in frightful place
- H1411.1 Fear test: staying in haunted house where corpse drops
piecemeal down chimney. Dead man's members call out to
hero: "Shall we fall or shall we not?"
- E31 Limbs of dead voluntarily reassemble and revive
- E754.1 Condemned soul saved
- Q82 Reward for fearlessness
- Q111 Riches as reward
- E461 Fight of revenant with living person
- E465 Revenant rewards its conqueror

Commentary

1.0 Introduction

The Bear's Son tale as found in Cañar is a folktale rather than a legend, having no direct ties with the belief system of the region, although the analysis will show that its narrative pattern can be compared in certain aspects to that of the local legends. Many variants of it are to be found throughout the Ecuadorean and Peruvian Andes, although this was the only version I collected in Cañar. The bear as a symbol in Andean folklore generally, however, is to be found not only in tale, but also in ritual. The Peruvian *fiesta* character, the *ukumari* or *paulucha*, is based on the bear, and so too may be his Cañar counterpart the *rucu yaya*. Their behaviour and rôle in the *fiesta* is comparable in some ways to that of the bear's son in tale. (1) It is not altogether surprising that the bear should have found his way into folklore, as we learn from both early and modern-day commentators that the animal was and is a feature, if not a very prominent one, of the regional landscape. (2) That bears might, or might have once, present a real threat to man, is suggested by an Imbabura text in which a bear attacks the livestock on a *hacienda* and a party is sent out to kill it with whips and lassos (JC/IM/10: "*Shuj usu shuj turuhuan*").

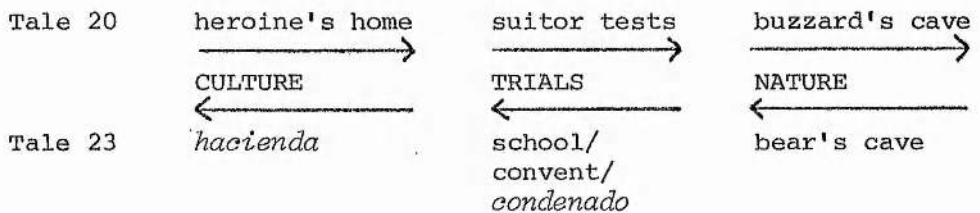
The analysis of the tale will fall into three divisions: structural analysis, which will take into account the tale's relationship with the narrative patterns of others in the section, and will examine the inner structure of the text itself; comparative analysis, which is given considerable space due to the large amount of comparative materials available; and a paragraph devoted to discussing the sociological implications of the tale within the context of indian culture. It is considered to be a tale that fulfills a need for social criticism, which it provides at a symbolic level, and that it is this need that keeps it alive.

2.0 Narrative structure

| Tale 6: <i>Osopa churi</i> | | | | |
|----------------------------|------------------|--------------|--|----------------|
| MOVE | | EPI- SODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | life in cave | | woman (H1) leaves home for forest | 1/2 |
| | | i | H1 captured by bear | 3 |
| | | ii | taken to bear's cave | 7 |
| | | iii | gives birth to child; half bear, half human (H2) | 5 |
| | | iv | bear steals fire and utensils for her | 4 |
| | | v | H1 and H2 trick bear and escape | 9a |
| | | vi | H2 kills bear father | |
| II | trials: school | vii | H1 and H2 arrive in town | not applicable |
| | | viii | H2 sent to school | |
| | | ix | H2 kills schoolmates | |
| | | x | H2 sent to convent | |
| III | trials: convent | xi | H2 arrives at convent | |
| | | xii | priest tries to frighten him with 'corpse' | |
| | | xiii | H2 kills attacker | |
| | | xiv | H2 sent away with arms, matches, cooked meat | |
| IV | life in hacienda | xv | arrives at haunted <i>hacienda</i> | 1/2 |
| | | xvi | warned not to enter | 6 |
| | | xvii | enters | 7 |
| | | xviii | <i>condenado</i> appears limb by limb | 3 |
| | | xix | H2 fights <i>condenado</i> | 4 |
| | | xx | H2 overcomes <i>condenado</i> | 9a |
| | | xxi | H2 inherits <i>hacienda</i> | 9c |

There are certain traits in the linear pattern of this tale that may be compared with that of local legend, so function headings have been assigned, as the above table shows. However, these functions occur in cyclical fashion, as is more typical of Andean folktale: the heroine of Move I gives way to her son as hero in Move II, and the overcoming of non-human agent thence occurs on two separate occasions which are structurally repetitive (Episodes(vi) and (xx)). So, in its capacity as a folktale, the text diverges from the pattern common to legend, as did the *ullachu* tales. In the case of Tale 20, for example, the 'suitor test' sequence was seen as such a divergence. In the present tale, the series of trials through which the hero

passes during his progress from life in the cave to his inheritance of the *hacienda* form a pattern equally incompatible with legend structure. Those struggles - against school, convent and *condenado* - must be gone through to enable the hero to progress from an animal state (in cave) to a civilized one (in *hacienda*). Curiously, the buzzard-man's tests occupied a structurally inverse place in that story: constituting the stage through which the non-human agent needed to pass in order to lead his victim from her civilized state to his animal home. Thus, we begin to perceive both structural and thematic levels at which these two sub-types might be compared; the comparative features could be summarized thus:



The movement between one sphere and the other, in whichever direction it might be, is in each case engineered by a semi-human protagonist: buzzard-man or bear-boy. This ambiguity in their status adds a further dimension to the interpretation: it assists their rôle as mediators between this world and the other world. It will be seen in Tale 24 below that there too the mediator is ambiguous: the daughter of a union between woman and snake. All three sub-types follow a broadly similar linear pattern, comparable with that of local legend, but the narrative complexity they owe to the folktale genre causes divergences from it.

The syntactic layout of the episodes in chronological order prepares the way for a paradigmatic analysis of the tale's inner structure. The narrative traces a series of conflicts: the conflict between animal and woman, between nature and culture (which the former stand for respectively), and most importantly, that between the

anomalous hero and society. The content of the tale relates the struggle of this hero, half human half animal, to reintegrate himself into a society that rejects him and to which he at first can only relate by a misdirecting of his animal strength. The depiction of struggle and conflict as part of the content reflects in the tale's inner structure also. Thus it is that in a paradigmatic analysis of the above arrangement of episodes, a pattern of oppositions is revealed: Move I, which relates the birth of the hero and his initial rejection of his animal origins by killing his bear father, can be seen as a structural inversion of Move IV, where the bear's son arrives, well-equipped with the accoutrements of culture, at the *hacienda* where he overcomes the condemned soul of its owner and inherits his wealth. Moves II and III can be seen as intermediary stages through which the hero passes during his progress towards social integration. They are structural parallels of each other, each representing the bear's son's outdoing of certain social institutions (school and church respectively) which try to tame and model him according to their terms. The structural relationship of moves one to the other could therefore be expressed as follows:

Move I : Move IV :: Move II : Move III

Thus the symmetry and logical cohesion of the tale's inner structure is clarified.

Furthermore, the arrangement of oppositions within the 'Move I : Move IV' relationship could be stated in these terms:

| | | |
|------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| Move I | : | Move IV |
| cave | : | <i>hacienda</i> |
| nature | : | culture |
| raw meat | : | cooked meat |
| lack of fire | : | possession of fire |
| destruction of father | : | defeat of <i>condenado</i> |
| ostracism of hero by society | : | reintegration of hero into society |

And the arrangement of parallels within the 'Move II : Move III'

relationship as follows:

| | |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Move II // | Move III |
| school // | convent |
| school authorities // | priest |
| killing of schoolmates // | killing of attackers |
| expulsion of hero from school // | expulsion of hero from convent |

In structuralist terms, therefore, the tale can be seen as a set of episodes which form a pattern of oppositions and parallels to each other, and all of which serve to give form to the conflict epitomized in the anomalous hero who, in his origins, is of two worlds and who struggles to resolve that paradox.

Seen as a mediator between two opposed worlds, he progresses from an initial stage of disorder, brought about by his mother's violation by the bear and his own anomalous birth, to one of order, when he 'saves' the *condenado* and inherits the *hacienda*. Such a pattern, it is of note, fits the general description of myth and tale structure given by Terence Turner in his re-analysis of the Oedipus myth:

"Traditional narrative genres such as myth, tale, and legend typically begin with an action or event that violates or mediates the structure of the prevailing order, giving rise to a situation in which actors and elements stand in ambiguous or contradictory relationships to each other. The "plot" or narrative sequence proceeds from this point through a series of permutations of the relations between these actors and elements toward a final state of equilibrium in which all elements again stand in unambiguous (synchronic) relations to each other."

(1969:33)

He makes the statement in the context of his argument that myth as a genre often attempts to resolve the apparent contradiction between synchronic and diachronic elements. (3) The relatively unchanging laws and order of society can be seen as the synchronic backdrop against which the subjective struggles of the individual (the hero) follow a diachronic progression (*ibid.*). This progression, in the case of the text at hand, is given dramatic form in the way it traces the hero's early inability to control his animal strength, through to the final stage where he is shown to have found a way of channelling it construc-

tively by fighting the *condenado*. (4)

3.0 Comparative analysis

In its historical-geographical context, the tradition of the Bear's Son tale can be divided into two branches: the Euro-American and the Andean traditions. The divergence between the two occurs consistently at a particular point in the linear progression of the narrative, as will be seen.

3.1 The Euro-American tradition

By the Euro-American tradition I mean all those versions of the tale which have close and apparently direct links with A-T301 and variants. Hansen has made Spanish American type additions to the A-T listing but none of these diverge significantly from the outline documented there (Hansen op.cit.). The Aarne-Thompson work includes an exhaustive listing of sources for the type, of which Espinosa's collection is of the most interest to the scholar wishing to trace Hispanic connections (Espinosa 1946-7, II:498ff.). Analytical works on the Spanish American versions have been numerous. (5) Additional collections of texts for the New World include two Ecuadorean *mestizo* versions from Quito collected by Carvalho-Neto (1966:Nos.2 & 3), which follow the Euro-American outline rather than the Andean. The latter, as will be seen, appears to be the exclusive patrimony of indian culture.

3.2 The Andean tradition

The Bear's Son tales which belong to the Andean tradition correspond to the A-T type description in the initial stages only, those which are indispensable to the ensuing sequence of events:

"301: The three stolen princesses. 1. The hero is of supernatural origin and strength (a) the son of a bear who has stolen his mother.... (h) he grows supernaturally strong and unruly."

From this point the Andean versions diverge from the A-T type, whilst comparison restricted to the Quechua area only, shows a consistency in narrative pattern sufficient for me to support the view that this is an independent Andean type. (6) This is not to say that the content of the Andean versions is wholly indigenous in its derivation. While there are indigenous motifs, there are also both motifs and fragments of other A-T types to be found in the tales. The originality of the Andean type is to be found rather in the way it integrates indigenous narrative structure with a mixture of native and borrowed motifs. This it does consistently across the versions, fitting together motifs and episodes, borrowed or otherwise, to bring about a coherent and logical narrative creation, albeit as hybrid as the Bear's Son himself.

3.2.1 Comparison of episodes in the Andean tradition

There now follows an analysis of versions of the tale from Ecuador and Peru, taking the form of a comparison of the episodes and motifs contained in these. This approach seems to be an indispensable one, given the already existing breakdown drawn up by Morote Best along these lines (op.cit.). I have selected those motifs from his '*Indice general de motivos*' which have comparative connections with other variants at my disposal. These latter have been given abbreviated titles as follows, for ease of reference:

Ecuador - Cañar

CA1 Cañar JMD (Tale 23)
CA2 Cañar JSA

Ecuador - elsewhere

CH LS/CH/8
 CO GS/CO/1
 IM JC/IM/26
 SG Saraguromanta: 6-11

Peru

QU Gow (R.) (1976:4-5) - Quispicanchis
 LU1 Argüedas (1960-61:176-193) - Lucanamarca
 LU2 Argüedas (op.cit.193-195) - Lucanamarca (7)
 HU Orconi (coll. Hoggarth 195?) - Huantura

The Morote Best entry is cited, then followed by a listing of those variants in which the same motif is to be found; any additional relevant detail not specified in the definitions is shown in brackets.

"1. *El oso rapta a una muchacha valiéndose de diferentes medios*"

CA1 (woman strays into forest); CA2 (woman married already)
 CH (woman married, goes for water); CO; IM (girl collecting berries on mountain); SG (girl herding cows)
 QU (girl pasturing animals, bear appears as fine *mestizo*); LU1 (girl left alone while husband goes to town); LU2 (left while husband goes on business); HU (tending flocks)

"2. *La encierra en su cueva y allí la sustenta.*"

CA1 (bear steals cooking utensils and fire for her); CA2
 CH (only given meat to eat); CO (not allowed cooked meat); IM (stone across entrance, only raw meat, no fire)
 LU2; HU

"3. *La mujer se ayunta con el animal y concibe un hijo.*"

CA1 (child hairy from waist down); CA2
 CH; CO; IM; SG
 QU (half bear, half boy); LU1 (covered in hair with human head);
 LU2 (called 'Juan Oso'); HU

"4. *Huyen madre e hijo/s*"

CA1 (send bear for fire, escape in his absence); CA2 (send bear for water)
 CH; CO; IM (bear's son (BS) moves stone from entrance); SG
 QU (send bear for milk-white cow, BS rolls stone away); LU1; LU2;
 HU (send bear on difficult task)

"5. *El animal persigue a la mujer....*"

CA1 (BS helps mother cross river); CA2 (BS helps mother cross river)
 CH; CO; IM; SG
 LU1 (BS helps mother cross river); LU2 (BS helps mother cross river)

"...y llega a la casa de ésta."

QU; HU

"5a. Hay un animal que interviene en la huida de la madre."

LU1 (frog impersonates sound of her washing clothes while she flees)

"6. La mujer y los hijos hacen una trampa para matar al animal."

QU (pot of boiling water); HU (pot of boiling water)

"7. Llega el oso, cae en la trampa y muere."

QU; HU (8)

"7a. El hijo mata al padre."

CA1; CA2

CH (by burning); CO; SG

LU1 (9)

"8. El hijo es entregado a un cura."

CA1

QU (baptized); LU1 (baptized); LU2; HU

"9a. Tiene fuerza descomunal: mata a los hombres."

CA1 (trick with 'corpse' in coffin)

QU (hurls would-be assassins from bell-tower); LU1 (hurls would-be assassins from bell-tower); LU2 (kills emn disguised as *condenados*); HU (pushes would-be assassins into pit/from bell-tower/'corpse' trick)

"9b. Destruye la iglesia y sus santos de yeso."

(Tale 58 contains this episode) (10)

"9c. Mata a sus compañeros de escuela."

CA1; CA2

CO; IM (11)

QU; LU1 (12)

"9d. Va al monte en pos de leña. Lo envía el cura con el propósito de que lo coman las fieras, pero vuelve con ellas cargadas de leña."

QU; LU1; HU (13)

"9g. Destroza unas calaveras que tratan de asustarle una noche."

CA1

"9h. Lucha con un condenado y lo vence."

CA1; CA2 (*condenado* named 'Sansón')

QU (BS carries wooden doll for defence); LU1; LU2; HU (carries wooden doll) (14)

"10. El 'condenado' agradecido porque le ha 'salvado' le entrega un tesoro."

CA1 (*hacienda* and money); CA2

QU (marries *condenado's* daughter also); LU1 (marries *condenado's* daughter); LU2 (marries *condenado's* daughter); HU

3.2.2 Comments on the above comparison of episodes

From the above comparison of episodes it can be seen that of the available Ecuadorean versions, it is the one from Cañar presented here that proves to be the most detailed and, by extension, to have the most points of comparison with the Peruvian ones. As mentioned, the other Ecuadorean variants terminate after the episode recorded in the '*Indice*' as "7a. El hijo mata al padre." They then proceed to an assortment of atypical and on the whole inconclusive terminal episodes as follows:

CH BS and mother return to her rightful husband and the family settle down to live a happy life
CO priest expresses admiration for BS's strength
IM BS is publicly executed in punishment
SG mother takes up residence in town, BS must stay away because of abnormal hairy body

This truncation of the tale cuts out the episode with the *condenado*, so important in Peru, occurring in 36% of the versions studied by Morote Best, and 100% of the additional variants referred to above. The incidence of the fuller version in Cañar provides reassuring evidence of its survival in Ecuador, and there is nothing to suggest that further versions of the fuller kind do not exist elsewhere, waiting to be collected. Meanwhile its survival in Cañar, at least, is surely due to the active rôle played by the ambiguous figure of the Bear's Son for a people experiencing the dilemmas of bi-culturalism and bi-lingualism. JMD's rendering left me in no doubt as to his and his audience's identification with the hero, in particular during the episodes that take place in school, and I shall discuss this point further in § 4.0. Further to the alternative endings found in the

shorter versions, variant endings in many Peruvian texts relate the death, rather than the triumph, of the Bear's Son, as Morote Best records:

- "16. *Es empujado desde una torre: muere*
 - 17. *Muere quemado dentro de un horno*
 - 18. *Es muerto por su madre*"
- (loc.cit.)

The negative resolution of the hero's dilemma is found in the Imbabura version (IM), and the Saraguro version represents a compromise, allowing the BS to remain alive but ever ostracised from society (SG). The variant endings are structural inversions of each other, making room for either a positive or negative outcome according to local tradition, or perhaps the whim of the narrator (cf. the alternative outcomes in the turkey buzzard tales).

In the comparison of episodes, I included: "9b. *Destruye la iglesia y sus santos de yeso*", for whilst this does not occur in Tale 23, it is to be found in Tale 58: '*Taita curitahuan huiñachishcahuan*', which I believe to be a part of the Andean tradition of the Bear's Son tale despite the fact that the informant from whom it was collected seemed to be unaware of the fact. That tale comprises the adventures of a 'priest's boy' (with some variation in motif), and has been placed in Section D (a): 'Bawdy priest tales', due to the fact that it was related to me as such, out of the context of the tradition to which it clearly belongs.

There remains one final comment to make on this comparison of episodes: the motif of the *condenado* that falls limb by limb from above to the hero's side is not listed in Morote Best's summary. It is to be found, however, in two of his individual summaries, for tales from Ayacucho and Cajamarca, described as follows:

"Huamanga, Ayacucho....cae desde el techo una mano, luego otra. Después caen las piernas, el estómago y cae, por fin, la cabeza...

*Chota, Cajamarca....A la medianoche alguien dice:
"Cayaré, cayaré." Juan responde: "Cáyete si no te
duele." Efectivamente cae una pata, después la otra,
después un brazo, después el otro, hasta que cae la
cabeza y se forma un cuerpo. Es un ánimo con el que
comienza a pelear."*
(op.cit.147)

That author postulates an indigenous origin for this motif, drawing comparisons with the dismemberment of spirit beings in other contexts in Peruvian lore (op.cit.166). However, due to the close affinity of the motif with Thompson's H1411.1, found in A-T326 (see listing with text), we cannot discount the possibility of the episode in Andean tradition being the result of a fusion between borrowed and native categories with which the borrowings were compatible.

4.0 Sociological implications of the tale in Cañar

If we are to understand the tale of the Bear's Son as a study of conflict and its resolution, the next step is to ask ourselves what this conflict might be in the real-life context of the indians of Cañar: what underlying symbolism operates to keep alive this tale in all its details in 1976? What does the story say to its narrator and his audience? Other tales examined so far have found their *raison d'être* in their function as expressions of local beliefs, or as vehicles for a didactic message. The Bear's Son tale, I believe, touches on areas more sensitive than these and therefore more intangible and less accessible to the outsider's understanding. Nonetheless the answer to these questions seemed only too evident from the emotive rendering of the story supplied by JMD in the presence of several members of his family.

The sending of the Bear's Son to school and the taunting to which he is subjected there is the episode or set of episodes with which the narrator and his audience appeared to identify most strongly.

Much verbal emphasis was laid on the jeers; "*Oso! Oso! Vos sois animal!*", as the narrator recited the episodes, repeating them four times over for greater effect. It is legitimate, I think, to interpret the Bear's Son as a living symbol of the indian, caught between two cultures and two languages. The scenes in school are those which invite us most readily to enter his predicament, for there the Spanish language dominates, representing all that experience has told the indian to distrust, and yet that which every day is being sold to him as desirable and worthy of attainment. (15) The quasi-humorous episodes involving the church authorities focus attention on yet another institution belonging to the national culture which has encroached upon and undermined the native lifestyle over the centuries. Folktale provides a medium for satirical comment on the theme.

I have suggested that this tale may be read as an allegorical expression of the individual's attempt to analyse and come to terms with social conflicts that beset him in his day to day life; the applicability of such imagery to the specific context of Andean society has encouraged the tale's development in and adaptation to that environment. The following observation upon the nature of myth and tale gives theoretical backing to this interpretation:

"At the level of specific content, narratives such as myths and tales typically concern the most obsessive, complex and problematic situations and relationships of the social order... Symbolic narratives, in short, represent cultural models for coping with typical patterns of subjective stress involved in the orientation of individuals to problematic situations in their social and cultural orders. They are, in a sense, meta-categories, dealing with the reintegration of divergent and often traumatic individual experience with the normative order of categories."

(Turner op.cit.35-36)

The Bear's Son, as I demonstrated in § 2.0, can indeed be said, symbolically speaking, to confront certain "complex and problematic situations" in the social order, and we can now give these concrete

form in the context of present-day Cañar.

Perhaps, however, the analysis so far has tended to over-simplify the message of the tale. Turner spoke of a "final state of equilibrium" at which myth and tale typically arrive; also of the unambiguous relations" in which elements stand one to the other by the tale's end (see §2.0). As we now consider the tale's message in its concrete setting, such a generalized statement serves a limited purpose. While the hero's defeat of the *condenado* in the final move represents another step towards the reestablishment of order, (16) can we as easily say that his inheritance of the *hacienda* in the last episode corresponds to a "final state of equilibrium"? I think not: the significance of this concluding episode in the social context of the tale is at best ambiguous and at worst a contradiction in terms. Taking the Bear's Son to stand for the indian in search of his place in society, as has been done, this outcome calls for the question: what is an indigenous *hacendado*? Rosalind Gow, in her structural analysis of the tale in Peru, posed this same question in her summing up (1976:45). Her study goes beyond my own in that it seeks to place the tale in an historical framework, thereby tracing a continuance of structural categories of mythical thought from the 16C to the present time. Nonetheless some of her observations are of value in considering this particular question:

"The *Ukumari* myth in its entirety reflects the ...convergence of Andean temporal and spatial structures...the dual process of this convergence is most dramatically seen in the final image of the *hacienda* owned previously by a greedy and unscrupulous *misti* but inherited by the *Ukumari*.... In spatial and evolutionary terms (the *hacienda*) is the highest point of mythical civilization, symbolizing like Cuzco not only wealth and power but also intrigue and corruption. By regaining their patrimony the indians have also inherited the potential destruction of their precursors."
(op.cit.41-42)

The apparent triumph of the Bear's Son is therefore a two-sided coin,

and no doubt reflects ambivalent attitudes towards the world of the *mestizos*, which currently appears to the indian to be at once dis-trusted and yet desirable. It is relevant here to remember the sym-bolism attached to the *hacienda* elsewhere in the material; in the devil narratives, for example, where the devil is the *hacendado*, and his *hacienda* hell.

FOOTNOTES

(1) see Morote Best (1957:158), Gow (D.) (1976:229-232), Barrionuevo makes explicit association between Juan Oso of the tale and the *ukuku* of the *fiesta* (1968:183), for description of Cañar's *ruca* *yaya* see Appendix VI.

(2) "*También se hallan osos y muy pocos; porque como toda la tierra del Perú es limpia de montañas bravas, no se crían estos animales fieros en ella; y también porque los Incas, como dijimos en sus cacerías reales, mandaban que los matasen. Al oso llaman 'veumari' (ucumari).*" Garcilaso (op.cit., II:318). Morote Best in his exhaustive study of 25 versions of the tale, identifies the real-life bear as: "*Oso: Ursus frugilegus Tschudi o Ursus Ornatus Cuvier. Quechua: Ukumari, Ukumali, Ukumaria. Aimara: Hukumari. Nombres literarios: Ukuku.*" (op.cit.135).

(3) Whereas the analytical approaches of Lévi-Strauss and Propp respectively tend towards the extraction of one or other of these elements in a tale's structure (see Dundes's introduction to Propp (1968:xii)), Turner sets out to show that the key to both the structure and message of a narrative is to be found in the "dialectical interplay of synchrony and diachrony." (op.cit.34,sic.).

(4) Dramatic form is given to narrative in the same way in other branches of Andean oral tradition: in the tale 'Ch'acha son of the wind', the hero in his childhood accidentally kills his schoolmates in a similar incident (Mitchell 1973:138-146); the same structure prevails in the tales in Section B regarding the excessive unruliness of the Christ Child; neither is it a pattern confined to the Andes: a reference in Propp gives us a hint of similar events in a Russian tale type: "a son or grandson causes trouble or makes a fool of himself (tears off the arms and legs of passers-by). The townspeople complain, and the grandfather drives out his grandson." (op.cit.76)

(5) Hudson (1951), Colgrave (1952), Goodwyn (1953), Szoverffy (1956), Warren (1962:173), Barakat (1965, 1967), Miller (1973:195-209),

(6) Elsewhere suggested by Morote Best (op.cit.), and Gow (R.) (1976).

(7) The Argüedas texts are accompanied by a commentary in which he draws comparisons between Morote Best's material and Spanish versions contained in Espinosa (loc.cit.).

- (8) The low incidence of Episodes 5a, 6 & 7 can be explained if we take them to be incidental intrusions from the Peruvian 'Condor and the shepherdess' type, where the sequence is common.
- (9) The similarities between the '*Indice*' end here with the sole exception of Tale 23; the terminal episodes of the other Ecuadorean versions are summarized in the comments below.
- (10) The relationship between the Bear's Son tale and Tale 58 is further mentioned in the comments below.
- (11) In Ecuadorean variants, this occurs before the episodes with the priest.
- (12) In Peruvian variants, this occurs after episodes with the priest.
- (13) cf. Tale 20, where buzzard tames wild bull as test.
- (14) Here is an affinity between the BS of the tale and the *ukuku* of ritual, who is described as carrying a doll on his person (Morote Best, op.cit.158).
- (15) An interesting corollary to the implications of the 'school' episode is to be found in the tale '*¿Imanasam mana iscuelaman riyta munanchu? (¿Por qué no se quiere ir a la escuela?)*', collected by Ortiz Rescanière in Lima (1973:143-149); the same author also refers us to his article: '*¿Por qué los niños no van a la escuela?*' (1971).
- (16) Recalling that the *condenado* is thought to be the soul of a man who has broken the taboo governing incest between *compadres* (see sub-section (c)).

Section A sub-section (g): The Snake Sister tale

TextTale 24: Ñaña culebramanta

Shug soltera causana nin mana cazarash. Mana huahuayu cana nin chaica. Causacuna nin pai solita ni pi c'arihuan mana cazarasha nishpa nin. Chaimanta rishea nin huertata muyungapa. Chaipica shug culebra tuparishca nin. Culebra tuparishpaca manchachishca paitaca. Chaipica nishca nin: - Ay culebra!

Huigsa junda culebrarucu nishca nin. Chai culebraca huigsa junda cashca nin. Causana achca tiempopica entonces paipish huigsayu taririshca. Pai huigsayu taririshpa paica yuyarishca: - ¡Imamantata ñucaca huigsayu tucuni? Ñuca mana pi c'arihuan canichu - nishca nin -, ¡imamanta?

Chaipi nishca nin muscuipi chai culebraca: - Ama mancharichu. Ñucami campica cani - nishca nin.

Entonces chaimanta ña punsha pagtagpica huachashca nin ishcai huahuata chai huarmica. Shugca cashca nin culebra, shugca cashca nin cristiano. Chai cristiano culebrahuan ishcai huahuata tarishpa imata ruhuanata mana pudishca nin. Entonces tuta muscuipi ricurishca nin mamamanco shug culebra. Nina nin: - Oi, mamita, ñucataca maipimi can mancharirca-ngui chaillapita churashpa cui.

Chai muscusheata yuyarishpa chai huahua culebrata japishpa maita mancharishca puestopi saquingapa rina nin.

Entonces cristiano huahuataca huiñachi callarishca nin. Chaica huiñashca ña huiñashca, ña jatun soltera pagtashca. Soltera cashpaca nin, juin sumag cana nin chai huarmi huahuaca. Ashca noviocuna tiyan pero mana cazarsha nishca nin ni pihuan, mama cuentallata. Mana cazarasha nin. Entonces chaipi cazarashca ña; shug shamushca nin caru llagtamenta. - Ñuca mana cai llagtata cazarashachu, caru llagtamtami cazarasha - nishca nin.

Chaita yuyashpa puricugpi chaymushca nin caru llagtamenta shug alli rina ña pai gustashca nin cazarangapa. Ña cazarana churacushca nin. Chai runaca juin huarmita c'uyag cashca nin juin sumag tratash. Chaipi cazarash causashca nin.

Chaipi cazarash causacushpa ña achcata causashca nin, alli causacushpa-llata nin. - Cunanca ñuca familiarunata rini ricungapa. Visitash cutigrini ñuca familiara - nina nin. Ari nish chaipi saquirin nin. Huarmi huasipi saquirigpica chai culebra ñañanca shamuna nin paipaman-Canca allita cazarasha nishpa canca chai tucurcangui - nina nin -, cunanca imashi tucungui. Cunanca cantaca apaipa shamungacunami. Paipa familiarhuan camba cusa shamungami, aparingami. Canmanca shug alli bestiacuna sillashca sumaimanami shamunga. Alli caballo sillashca sumaimana aperocuna churashca shamunga. Pero canca listito cangui ringapaca. Apangui canca puchea, tijeras, algodón, jabón, ñagcha, apangui shinami - nina nin -, chaitaca ña maleta ruhuash listito cangui. Pero pagta canca montanguiman chai alli bestiapica. Canca burritopi montasha ningui - nina nin. Ari nish entonces chashna alvertish saquirina nin.

Ña cusa cutimuna nin achca paipa familiarunahuan. Cusa cutimushpa ña paiman shug bestiata entregan nin chaipi montachun. Chaipi nina nin: - Mana, ñucaca mana montashachu chaipica. Ñucaca urmashami, mana montanata yachanichu. Shug burritopi montasha - nina nin. Entonces chai paipa ñaña culebrallata burro tucushca nin. Chai burro tucush chaipi montashca ña mismo ñañallapita. Montash entonces

callarishca paica, Maleta apashca; tijeras, algodón, puchca, ñagcha, jabon, Entonces chaita apash paitaca nishcacuná nin, ñumpapi churasha nishca nin. Pero nina nin: - Ñucaca mana ñumpapi mana rishachu. Ñucaca huashatami risha burritopica, ñucaca sarurishami, Alli bestia-cunaca burrotaca sarungami - nin.

Chaimanta nina nin: - Chugpipi churashun.

- Ni chugpipi peor mana rishachu. Ñucaca huashata c'atishallami, cancuna ñumpaichi.

Entonces ña tanto nina nin chugpipi churashun, ñumpapi churashun, nada. Mana uyagpi al fin ña rincuna ña paita huashata c'atichish. Tigraricourashca ricushpallata rincuna nin ña cungarishpa chaita. Sin fin rishcacuná paicunaca.

Ña haciendapi chayancuna nin. Hacienda cai infierno cana nin, Chayashpaca nina nin, cunanca ña suegroca nina nin: - Nuerata uraicuchishun, nuerata uraicuchishun. Cai pi ña bestiamanta uraicuchishun nuerata. Nuerata tupashun nish ña cutincunaniari. Maita pi paica burritopica jichurishca nueraca, Jichurishpaca ña ahecata caruta shitarin paicunaca burro montashca. Cutimui callarishcacuná. Suegro mana tarigpica noviotaca tupachun cachashca, huarmita tupamuchun. Chai novioa diablo cana nin, Shamuna nin, tiyarashca, Ña avansana cerca nin burro montashcataka. Ña avansana cerca cagpica algodón pedaso shitashca nin ñampi. Algodon shitagpica semejante p'uyu tucush libre tutayash jarcashca nin chaita, Ima shina mana utca pasai valishca p'uyuhuan. Cutin chaitapish ña atish pasamuna nin.

Cutin jabonta shitana nin. Jabonta shitagpica tamia nin lluchca tucush jarcashca nin. Diablo mana utca puri valishca lluchcahuan urmashpa. Urmashpa jatarish pasamun in chashna ña huarmita japingapa. Chaimanta ashtam ña cutin cerca cagpica ña cutin ñagchata shitashca nin. Ñagchata shitagpica tucushca nin semejante casha nin, ima mundo casha tucush jarcan nin ñampi. Chai cashatapish mana cazushpa ña pasamunllata nin. Ña al fin ña huasiman chayana cerca nin. Entonces ña ñagcha tucurigpi puchcata shitana nin. Puchcaca ima mundo sachangu tucuna nin, Chaipi entonces liarishca, chaquicuna liarish urmash mana puri valin nin ña. Puchcata chashnapish atish ña pasamunllata nin. Ultimota ña tijerasta shitana nin. Tijerasta shitagpica chugpi ñampi ña jatun verde cruz tucush jarcana nin. Ña huasiman chayana cercapi. Chai jatun verde cruz tucush jarcagpica, chaipi diablo tugyash cutirin, Cusa cana nin.

Chaimantaca diablo tugyash cutirishca qu'ipa ña ñaña culebraca ña burro cashpa cutin culebra tucushca. Cutin culebra tucushpaca alvertish saquirin: - Cunanca pagta cazaranguiman. Cazarashpaca pi mai pobre-cunata, huagchacunata cazaranguí, ama pi carumanta cazarash ninguichu. Huasi cuchu cunan rigsishecacunata cazaranguí. Cantaca ña quishpichishpami saquigrini. Pagta cazaranguiman fueracunahuanca, rigsishecahuan cazaranguí. Chaica ari nish saquirin shina mana cazarash puricush.

Cutin ña cazarana nin. Chaipica cazarana nin ña cristianohuan. Chai cristianohuan cazarash causacun nin, ña alli causacun nin, Alli causacupica cutin punta novio, chai diablocá, cutin chai paipa cusapa novia tucush cutin yaicuna nin. Cutin chai novia tucush yaicushpa entonces tiyarin nin chaipi ña. Ña chaihuan taririshpa paita juin p'iñai callarin nin cusaca. Sumaimana huarmi nin pai cutin. Alli huarmi paitaca juin p'iñan nin. P'iñash ña macacushpalla mana pushash causasha nishpa ña, ishcai ñahuita churushpa sachapi shitangapa rina nin cusaca. Chai huarmi huan causacushpa, pero mana chai huarmi cana nin, chai diablo huan.

Chaimanta ña sachapi shitashca ña, ñahui mana ricui valin, ñahui churulla chaipi huacacuna nin paica. Chai huacacugpica cutin chai ñañanca chayana nin, culebraca, mamapaman pero. Mamata nina nin: - Camba huahuaca ima layatacha causacun? Ri apamui shug vaso yacuta - nina nin -, cansha huasi esquina, huasi alar esquinapi churashpa pacarichishun - nin.

Chuya vaso yacuta apamush cahipi churan nin. Huasi esquinapi churashca, Cayandica pacarin nin chushag yahuar yacuca. Chaipi nina nin chaica: - Riqui maíta camba huahuapa causaica cashnami - nin -, cunanca jacu ricushun - nina nin.

Chaipica paica yachashca nin maipi cagtaca ña. Ña sachapi cashca nin, ñahui churushca shitashca, ñahui illaglla siricushca huacashpa.

Maiman mana llugshi valish. Chaimanta chaipi chayan nin. Ñañanta nina nin, jurian: - Canca alvertisheani ni ima mana cazarai fuerallatata cazarangui. Cunan camba cusapa causaita jacu ricushun - nina nin.

Entonces ñahui murupica churashca nin sacha pangata japishpa, pero cashtushca nin, cashtush mucush pulvish ñahui murupi churashca nin. Ashtaun unallapica ricushca nin ñahui, libre. Chashna juriashpa entonces: - Jacu cunan camba cusapa causaita ricushun - nin.

Arita nish rina nin. Entonces haciendapi chayana nin. Chayashpaca nin: - Posadata cui - nin.

Chaipica nina nin chaica: - Ari, posada tiyanmi.

Shug huallpacuna c'uchicuna sueñuna ucuta ricuchina nin chicaoishun, - Chaipi sueñuichi - nina nin.

Arita nish chaipi sueñungapa siririncuna. Chaipi sueñucun nin, ña chaipi camata ruhan, pichancuna nin, tucui sumagta allichincuna nin, sueñuna camata ruhai callarincuna nin.

Entonces paica cashna lado ucullapi cashca nin. Pai sueñuna cashnamancoa chiquero (?). Entonces chaipica parlanacuncuna nin, juin parlanacuna nin. Chaipica entonces cahi cusaca nina nin: ¿Ima nish ñuca huarmi shinata rimarin? Ñuca huarmi shinami rimarin, chashnata.

Imata tucun nin, juinmi sueñucun nin, chai moza huarmica sueñucun nin. Paica uyacun nin casillitu. - Ñuca huarmi shinata rimaricun.

Chaimanta entonces jatarish ricungapa rina nin ñuca huarmi canga nish. Ari, ciertota paipa huarmi cashca. Chaipica nina nin, chai culebra ñañanca nin: - Uí, ¿ima nish canca ñuca ñañata cashna padecichingui? Cai mundo pasachingui, imamantata chashna ruhuangui? Canca sumaimana huarmihuan cangui. Cunanca jacu camba huarmita ricushun.

Chaipi entonces camapi sueñucun nin paipa huarmica, moza huarmica. Chaipica lusta japichish ricun nin. Ricugpica chai ñañan rimarin mana rimarin ricurishca nin semejante gachusapa. Semejante allcu sueñu layata chupa ucupi singata satishpa sueñucushca nin. Chaica: - Riqui chicaoimi camba huarmica - nishca nin, shina nin-, cai ñuca ñañata cai mundota padecichircangui. Cunan cai sumaimana huarmihuan cashcangui canca, juin.

Chaipica : - Ari.

Shina nin mana nin tugyashca nin chai camaca, tugyash llugshirishca nin chai diablocas. Entonces chai ñañan culebraca mana ni culebra cashca nin, angel cashca nin. Angel rimarigpimi entonces paica tugyash llugshirishca nin chai ucumanta. Chaimanta ña ñañanpa causaita allichish saquishpa paipa ñumpamanta paloma tucushpa cieloman rishca nin. Chaillami.

The snake sister

There was once an unmarried young girl. She had no children and she lived alone with no man, for she wished to marry nobody. One day she went for a walk in an orchard. There a snake appeared before her and frightened her. "Ah, snake!" she cried.

It happened that it was a pregnant snake that the woman saw. Some time went by and then she found that she too was pregnant. On finding herself with child she thought: "How have I become pregnant? I have been with no man. What is the cause?"

Then in a dream that snake spoke to her: "Do not be afraid, I have impregnated you."

When her time came, the woman gave birth to two children: one of them was a snake and the other a human being. When she found that she had two children and one of them a snake, the woman didn't know what to do. But at night in a dream the snake appeared to its mother and said: "Mother, take me to the spot where you were frightened that time, and leave me just there."

When the woman recalled the dream, she took the snake-child and left it at the spot where she had been frightened.

Then she began to raise the human child. The child grew and grew until she became an attractive young girl. She had many suitors but she didn't want to marry any of them, just like her mother. Then a young man came along from a distant town and the girl said: "I shall not marry someone from my home town, I shall marry someone from a far-off place."

She was thinking that when a handsome young man arrived from afar and she liked him enough to marry him. So with him she braved marriage. That man loved the woman very much and treated her very well. So they married and lived together.

A long time passed after they were married: life just went on. Then one day the husband said: "Now I am going to see my family. I will come back when I have visited them."

His wife agreed and stayed behind. While she remained behind in the house her snake-sister came to her: "Although you wanted to make a good marriage, look what has become of you," she said, "now what will happen to you? They will come to take you away. Your husband will come with his family and take you away. He will come with a fine well-bridled horse. But you be ready for him: take with you a ball of wool, a pair of scissors, some unspun cotton, some soap and a comb. Pack these things and be ready. But be careful not to mount that fine horse. You demand to ride the little donkey."

Thus the snake-sister left her with this warning.

Then the husband returned with a great number of relatives. Upon returning, he gave his wife a horse for her to mount. But she said: "No, I will not mount that beast. I'll fall off, for I do not know how to ride. I shall ride on the little donkey."

Then her very own snake-sister turned into a donkey. So the woman mounted on the back of her own sister. Once mounted, they set out. She carried in her bag the scissors, the cotton, the wool, the comb and the soap. Then her husband's relatives wanted to place her at the head of the file. But she said: "I won't go in front. I will travel behind on the little donkey and follow in your tracks. The better animals will tread on me if I go in front."

Then they said; "Then let's put you in the middle."

"Worse still. No, I won't go in the middle. I shall just follow behind, you all go ahead of me."

For some time they tried to persuade her to go first in front then in the middle, but to no avail. When she wouldn't heed them, they finally let her follow on behind. At first they kept looking back to see if she was still there, but later they forgot to do so. They travelled on and on without end.

Then at last they arrived at a *hacienda*. The *hacienda* was Hell. When they arrived, the girl's father-in-law said: "Let's make my daughter-in-law dismount. Let's get her down from her horse."

And now they did all go to the back of the line to find the daughter-in-law. But she had gone astray who knows where on the back of the little donkey. They had strayed far away, donkey and rider. The girl's in-laws set out in pursuit, but when her father-in-law couldn't find her, he sent the husband to find her and bring her back. Now that husband was the devil. He soon began to catch up with the girl on the donkey. When he was close to catching up with her she threw the piece of cotton onto the road. When she threw down the cotton it turned into fog: everything grew dark and the devil was impeded on his way. He couldn't progress quickly with the fog stopping him. But then he overcame the fog and continued on.

Then she threw down the soap, whereupon it turned into rain and made the road slippery. The devil couldn't move on quickly for he fell on the slippery surface of the road. Slipping and sliding he finally passed the obstacle and continued his pursuit of the woman. After that he grew nearer to her and this time she threw down the comb. As she threw the comb it turned into a great thorn bush and blocked the road. But the devil took no notice of the thorns either and just passed on. Then at last they came near to the girl's home. As the effects of the comb ended she threw down the ball of wool. The wool turned into a creeper that wound itself around the devil's feet causing him to fall and preventing him from walking. Then he overcame the obstacle of the wool and just came on his way. Finally she threw down the scissors. As she threw these down a tall green cross sprang up in the middle of the road and barred the way. They were now close to the girl's house. When the tall green cross barred his way, then the devil was overcome and turned back. He was her husband.

Then after the devil had been vanquished and had gone back whence he came, the snake-sister turned from a donkey back into a snake. On doing so she left her sister with this warning: "Now beware of marrying: marry a poor man or a rich man as may be, but do not marry a stranger. Marry someone you know from your own neighbourhood. I leave you now having rescued you. But beware of marrying outsiders, marry someone you know."

The other, agreeing with these words, remained behind and for a time did not marry.

Then one day she married again. This time she married a human being. She lived happily with the man she married. Then one day, as they were living happily, her first husband, that devil, took on the form of the woman and entered the house. Having taken on the appearance of the man's wife, the devil came into the man's house and sat down. When he was discovered with the devil-woman the woman's husband grew angry, beating her, and telling her he did not want to live with her, the

husband put his wife's eyes out and took her away to the forest. He was living with that woman who was really the devil.

The woman was now blinded and abandoned in the forest where she wept constantly. While she was weeping, her snake-sister came to the house of their mother. She said: "How is your daughter's life going? Go and fetch a glass of water. We shall leave it to sit overnight in the corner of the balcony of the house."

So they placed a glass of clear water at the corner of the balcony and the next morning it had turned all to blood. Then the snake said:

"Look, this is how your daughter is living somewhere. Let us go and see her."

For she knew of the woman's whereabouts already. The woman was abandoned in the forest with her eyes put out she lay crying and unable to find her way out. Then the snake-sister arrived and scolded her saying: "I warned you not to marry any outsider whatsoever. Now let's go and see how your husband is faring."

Then she picked some leaves from the bushes, chewed them in her mouth, then having well masticated them she placed them on the woman's eyes. After a while she completely recovered her sight. Then the snake said, still rather crossly: "Let's go now and see how your husband fares." The woman agreed and they set off. They arrived at the *hacienda*. On arriving; "Give us lodging," they said.

"Yes, there is room," replied the other.

Then he showed them to a room where the pigs and chickens slept so that they would be apart. "Sleep here," he said.

They agreed and lay down to go to sleep. That is where they slept: they made the bed there, swept the floor and cleaned the room beautifully.

Now the husband lay just on the other side, just in the neighbouring room. They were talking among themselves and he said: "Why is my wife talking to herself like that? My wife is talking to herself like that." Now that devil-wife was fast asleep. The husband was listening quietly: "My wife is talking to herself like this."

Then he got up to see, thinking it might be his wife. And of course it was his wife. Then the snake-sister said to him: "Hey, why did you make my sister suffer so? You made her go through all this, why did you do so? You have a lovely wife. Now let's go and see your other woman."

Now his devil-wife was sleeping in bed. Lighting a candle he looked at her. That snake-sister was still talking as he looked, and a great horn appeared on the creature's head. The horned creature was sleeping like a dog, with a tail. Just like a sleeping dog it was lying with its head buried in its tail. The snake-sister spoke: "Look, your real wife is sleeping separately. You have made my sister suffer so much, and she is a lovely wife for you."

"Yes," said the husband.

Thus the snake-sister spoke, and the bed and the devil vanished in a puff of air. That snake-sister hadn't been a snake after all, but an angel. As the angel was speaking, the devil was vanquished and disappeared from the room. Then the angel turned into a dove and flew away from them to heaven, leaving her sister with a better life. That's all,

Informant: GGG, 5th November, 1976

cf. A-T 313: Obstacle Flight

- T510 Miraculous conception
- B631.9 Human offspring of marriage of person and snake
- T554.7 Woman gives birth to a snake
- A1772 Animals born from primeval mating of snake and person
- B311 Congenital helpful animal. Born at same time as master
and (usually) by same magic means
- B291.4.2 Snake as messenger
- D1810.8 Magic knowledge from dream
- T131 Marriage restriction
- C162.3 Tabu: marrying outside of group
- G303.3.1.2 Devil as well-dressed gentleman
- G303.9.5 The devil as abductor
- Q499.7 Humiliating marriage as punishment
- D418.1 Transformation: serpent to other animal
- F402.7 Family of demons
- G303.12.5.2 Devil marries disdainful girl; she escapes
- R157 Sisters rescue sisters
- D672 Obstacle flight. Fugitives throw objects behind them
which magically become obstacles in pursuer's path
- G303.16.3 Devil's power avoided by cross
- Z145 Green as symbolic colour
- J416 One's own kind preferred to strangers
- G303.3.1.12 Devil in form of woman
- S411 Wife banished
- S430 Disposal of cast-off wife
- E761.1.1 Life token: water turns to blood
- D474.2 Transformantion: water becomes bloody
- B511.1.2 Snake heals mutilated maiden with magic herbs
- D1500.1.4 Magic healing plant
- D2161.3.1 Blindness magically cured
- B516 Sight restored by animal
- G303.4.1.6 Devil has horns
- G303.4.6 The devil's tail
- R168 Angels as rescuers
- G303.16.10 Angels save person from devil

Commentary1.0 Introduction

This text falls into a category somewhere between that of folk-tale and local legend: in its complexity of narrative structure, and its detachment from a specific location in time and space, it is a folktale. It does contain, however, certain features of theme and content that link it to those narratives that are more clearly in the category of legend: the heroine's failure to adhere to social expectations resulting in an unnatural union, and the identification of the devil with *hacendado*, and her abduction to the other world, for instance.

Only one version of it was found, and no variants were found in the comparative texts, unlike the case with the Bear's Son tale. The sequence of the heroine's escape from her non-human spouse by means of 'Obstacle Flight' is commonly found in Andean tales, particularly in the Peruvian context of flight from a *condenado* lover, so comparative analysis may be applied to this section of the tale, at least. Firstly, however, let us look at the narrative structure of the text as a whole.

2.0 Narrative structure

| Tale 24: <i>Ñaña culebramanta</i> | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------|---|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | woman (H1) who has refused to marry goes out for walk | 1/2 |
| | i | H1 encounters pregnant snake | 3 |
| | ii | H1 finds herself pregnant | 4 |
| | iii | snake appears to tell her in dream it has caused pregnancy | |
| | iv | H1 gives birth to 2 children: one a snake, the other human | 5 |
| | v | snake child tells H1 in dream to return it to place of origin | 4 |
| | vi | rears human daughter as normal | 5 |
| II | vii | daughter (H2) refuses to marry | 1 |
| | viii | H2 marries handsome stranger | 3 |
| | ix | H2's husband leaves to fetch his family | 4 |
| | x | snake sister warns H2 that husband is devil and to take precautions | 6 |
| | xi | H2 prepares herself according to snake sister's instructions | |
| | xii | sets out on journey with devil-spouse | 2 |
| | xiii | arriving at hell- <i>hacienda</i> they find H2 has escaped | 9a |
| III | xiv | H2 evades pursuit by devil | |
| | xv | H2 remarries | 1 |
| | xvi | devil takes on H2's form and steals her husband (H3) | 3 |
| | xvii | H3 abandons H2 and lives with devil-wife | 4 |
| | xviii | snake sister reveals H2's fate to H1 | 6 |
| | xix | snake sister and H1 rescue H2 | |
| | xx | snake sister reveals identity of devil-wife to H3 | |
| IV | xxi | devil is overcome | 9a |
| | xxii | snake sister becomes dove and flies to heaven | |

The repetitive features of this tale's narrative pattern illustrate the cyclical nature of narrative commonly found in the Andes; the Bear's Son tale was another example of it. In the present text, cyclical progression is marked firstly by the transference of heroine rôle from mother (H1) to daughter (H2) between Moves I and II. There are also minor repetitive features within the moves themselves, such as, for example, the appearance of snake progenitor

in a dream (Episode (iii)) and the appearance of snake child in a dream (Episode (iv)), both occurring in Move I. Between Moves I and II a structural repetition can be noted, firstly in the initial situations. The mother's refusal to marry, and subsequent encounter with the snake is repeated in her daughter's rejection of suitors and eventual marriage to the stranger-devil. As has been seen, a breach of social norms is a structural necessity for the subsequent encounter between human and non-human protagonists, and the ensuing relationship between them, in all tales of the section. In Move III, H2 becomes yet again victim of deception by the devil, but this time indirectly, through the medium of her husband (H3), who is also taken in by the former's false appearances. All three repetitions serve to illustrate cyclical progression: at each move the sequence of events appears to repeat itself, yet at the same time the action progresses a stage further on from the last.

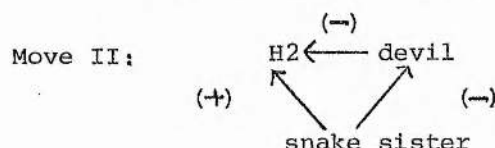
The oppositional relationship between mortal and supernatural spouse is represented on three different planes during the course of the tale. The pattern can be described as follows:

H1 : snake :: H2 : devil :: H3 : devil

The text describes a series of relationships in which mortal is opposed to non-mortal. The relationships do not end there, however. Consistent with Lévi-Strauss's definition of mythical thought processes, which may operate in folktale also, these sets of oppositions are mediated by a third party in an attempt to bring about a resolution of the conflict expressed by the oppositions (1972:224). I shall now show how his statement is applicable to the text under study. The mediating function here is performed by the snake sister, product of the first of the preternatural unions, or oppositions, who after her birth detaches herself from the family unit and becomes the linking

factor between the moves that ensue, by playing an active rôle in the resolution of the conflicts that each of those describe.

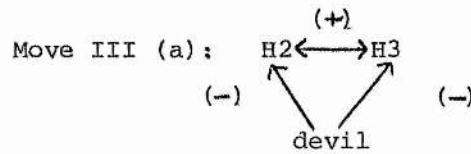
Move I: 'H1 : snake', stands for Lévi-Strauss's "two opposite terms with no intermediary". It results in the birth of two children, and as the narrative proceeds we see how the first opposition is replaced by another in which one of the children is opposed to the devil, and the other child acts as mediator. Thus the original opposition has fulfilled Lévi-Strauss's statement by being "replaced by two equivalent terms which admit of a third one as mediator". This pattern also provides a structural comparison with the devil legends in which a 'split hero' feature was found - whereby a shift in function on the part of one hero figure enabled him to act as mediator on behalf of the other. The present case could be viewed as a variation upon that pattern. Move II, therefore, describes a set of relationships which can be represented by a triad as follows:



Thus it is shown schematically how the snake sister's mediation assists H2 against the threat from her devil-spouse. From now on the narrative presents permutations of relationships which can all be described by this triangular model, and Lévi-Strauss's statement: "then one of the polar terms and the mediator become replaced by a new triad and so on" can be seen to apply. As with Tale 20, these triads represent conflicts which in turn can be said to arise out of social preoccupation with marriage and the identity of in-laws. (1)

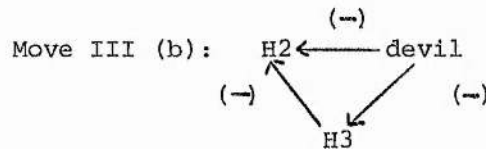
In Move III, a mutually positive relationship is seen for the first time - perhaps to be expected as it holds between two mortals: H2 and H3 - which is shortlived, however, due to renewed threat from

the devil;



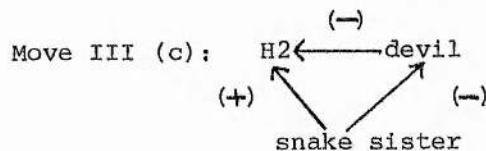
The text does not make clear the initial situation that gave rise to this new threat: H2 has presumably made a blameless marriage to one of her kind this time - the husband is referred to as a *cristiano*.

Out of the deception of the husband develops a set of totally negative relationships, brought about by the doubly negative influence of the devil:



We see that H3 has now shifted his position in the triad and occupies the 'slot' previously filled by the devil, that of threatening intermediary between two spheres. The negative influence of the devil causes the husband to adopt a uniquely negative mediating attitude towards his wife.

This situation is resolved by the reappearance of the snake sister in a positive mediating rôle, thus:



This final mediation brings about the resolution of the series of oppositions set up between human and non-human spouses. Move IV culminates in this final resolution, in which a mutually reciprocated, positive relationship between H2 and H3 is finally established. Thus the narrative has progressed: the original conflict in Move I is resolved and a harmonious relationship is set up in which no further mediation is necessary.

By tracing the shifts in relationships between the actors of the tale in the way set out above, the pattern seen to run through the narrative suggests relationships between parts of the narrative which a syntagmatic layout of episodes alone would not reveal. The initial opposition (Move I) and final resolution (Move IV), can be seen in paradigmatic terms to be in structural opposition to each other. Moves II and III both contain triads in which H2 and H3 are threatened in turn by devil-spouse, and in each case the threat is mediated by the snake sister. They are thus structurally parallel to, or repetitions of, each other. The relationship between the moves constitutes the inner structure of the narrative, and reveals its symmetry. This can be summarized schematically as follows:

Move I : Move IV
 H1's refusal to marry : marriage of H2
 abnormal union : normal union

Move II : Move III
 H2's refusal to marry : H2's marriage sanctioned
 H2's marriage to devil : H3's union with devil
 mediation by snake sister : mediation by snake sister
 devil overcome : devil overcome

It should be noted that, despite the apparent structural repetitions which can be traced by comparing the relationships of H1, H2, and H3 in turn, with supernatural spouses, the outcome of the narrative is a positive one in which these conflicts are resolved: H2 remains to live 'happy ever after' with her human husband. Thus we are made aware that the tale follows a spiralling type of progression: the outcome is a step forward from the initial situation. From disunity and lack of harmony there is a progression to unity and harmony. The element that made such progression possible can be traced back to the very disunity at the outset: H1's abnormal impregnation results in the birth of the snake sister, whose existence makes possible the gradual move towards unity, by her acting out the rôle of mediator. Thus it

is that myth or, in this case, folktale, provides itself from within its own structure with the means of resolving the contradiction it poses.

3.0 Comparative analysis

Comparative analysis is restricted to a study of the nature and distribution of the 'Obstacle Flight' motif.

3.1 D672 Obstacle Flight: Indo - European tradition

In Indo-European tradition, this motif belongs primarily to A-T313: 'The Magic Flight. From the ogre's house. The fugitives throw magic objects behind them which become mountains, wood, or sea; or they change themselves into various animals or objects'. It is also to be found in A-T 314: 'The youth transformed to a horse', where the heroine is assisted by her companion's transformation into a horse that bears her, akin to the snake sister's transformation into a donkey in the Cañar text. The diffusion of the tale of the Magic Flight in Indo-European tradition has been well charted by historical-geographical analysts. Their efforts have been reviewed by Utley in his detailed account of paths of folktale migration to the Americas (1974:7). The tale is believed to be of far-flung and ancient origins recorded, for example, as a part of official Shinto myth in 8C Japan (Kroeber 1948:544-545, cited by Utley, loc.cit.). Its diffusion has also been discussed by Boas (1940:464), Aarne (1930), Thompson (1946:289), Sapir (1949:412-27), and von Sydow (1948:192). (2)

3.2 D672 Obstacle Flight: Andean tradition

In Andean tradition, the 'Obstacle Flight' motif is most commonly associated with a certain sub-type of *condenado* tale to be found most

commonly in Peru, and documented by Morote Best (1958a). In this work he sets out to thoroughly invalidate Kroeber's remark that the motif had been found in oral narrative on all the continents but South America. (3) Basing his analysis on 15 variants of the tale type from an area including Junín, Huancavelica, Ayacucho, Apurímac, Cuzco, and Puno, Morote Best summarized their motifs under 12 general headings (op.cit.799-800). Below I give a shortened version, in translation, of his summary. Motifs 9 and 10 correspond to the 'Obstacle Flight':

1. A young couple have incestuous relations.
2. They leave their home town for the high mountains.
3. The man returns home to steal food or money.
4. The parents kill him thinking him a thief; they discover his identity and bury him.
5. The *condenado* returns to his lover.
6. The lover does not realise at first he is a *condenado*, despite his odd behaviour.
7. He takes the woman with him on a long and difficult journey through the mountains.
8. They arrive at the house of an old woman who reveals the man's secret to the girl.
9. The old woman provides the girl with objects to help her escape: soap, a comb, a mirror, a needle, a ribbon (the objects can vary).
10. The girl flees the *condenado* throwing down the objects in his path: the soap becomes a slippery mountain, the comb a thorn bush, the mirror a lake, the needle a river, the ribbon a long road.
11. The girl is saved and takes refuge in a variety of places.
12. It is revealed that the old woman is the Virgin. (4)

Apart from Tale 17, there is no further incidence of the motif in the Cañar material. An instance of D642.7 Transformation Flight, which is closely linked, is to be found in Tale 33: '*Niño Jesusmanta*', where the Christ Child transforms himself into a cotton tree and a cockerel in order to elude the devil-Jews. The 'Obstacle Flight' motif is found, however, in the comparative texts, eg. LS/CH/9, in which a comb thrown onto the road by the fleeing Christ Child turns into a forest in the path of the devils, and a *mestizo* version is included in Carvalho-Neto's collection (1966:No.47).

This is a motif with great adaptability to a variety of contexts as has already been seen, and as can be seen further by reference to

Morote Best's listing of other tale types in which it is to be found (op.cit.833-839). These include, of particular relevance to the present study, the "*Cuento del oso que robó a la chola*", in which the fleeing mother and her bear-child use the devices of 'Obstacle Flight' in order to escape the bear: a comb which becomes a thorn bush, a needle a river, a ribbon a very long bridge. Apart from this sequence, which fits so neatly and logically into the context, the pattern of the tale's episodes follows those typically found in the Bear's Son tale in Peru. The wholesale incorporation of the motif into different Andean tale types was no doubt encouraged by the way in which it was possible to fit it as a self-contained unit into almost any tale which contained a flight sequence, without necessitating any alterations in the structure of that tale. Carvalho-Neto's No. 47: "*Las hijas del rey*", referred to above, is a tale of evident European descent, in which a king's daughters defend their kingdom by these same devices. The variability of context in which D672 Obstacle Flight can occur in Andean narrative may be summarized as follows:

| <u>Pursuer</u> | <u>Pursued</u> | <u>Where found</u> |
|------------------|----------------|---------------------------|
| <i>condenado</i> | wife | Peru, Ecuador (Cañar) |
| devil | wife | Ecuador (Cañar) |
| devils | Christ Child | Ecuador (Cañar, Chibuleo) |
| bear | wife | Peru |
| witch | little girl | Peru |
| 3 <i>nustas</i> | wild animals | Peru |

This summary is limited to the texts I had available; there may well be other type contexts to add to the list.

4.0 The tale in the context of Cañar

Whilst, unlike the local legends, this folktale cannot be closely related to the context of the local belief system, it is worth summing up the several levels at which it can be seen to fit into the context of oral narrative tradition in Cañar, and the Andes as a whole. It

contains certain elements that link it to the devil legend tradition; the abduction of heroine by non-human spouse is a familiar theme; the 'Obstacle Flight' motif has carved a niche for itself in Andean narrative, and this text contains a valuable example of it; at the level of deep structure it can be seen to describe a series of oppositions such as those between human and non-human, this world and the other world, and so on; and in tracing the sequence of events we find functions such as initial situation (violation of social norms)→encounter→journey→mediation→overcoming of non-human agent, giving it much in common with the structure of other texts in the section.

FOOTNOTES

(1) For a N. American example of the narrative expression of this preoccupation, see Hymes's study of a Clackamas Chinook myth (1971).

(2) citations from Utley (loc.cit.)

(3) cites Kroeber (1948:213).

(4) For further study of the tale type by the same author see Morote Best (1955); for full texts representing the type see Argüedas (1953: 150-153); an as yet unpublished variant was collected in Quechua by Pauline Hoggarth in Calca (1977); additionally Tale 17 of the present collection may be taken to be a derivative of the Andean tradition of the flight from a *condenado* lover.

Section A sub-section (h): Tales of the Mama Ahuardona

Texts

Tale 25: *Huahuacunahuan jatun mamarucuhuan*

Ñuca shug cuentitota parlagrini. Ricungui: shug runito viudo causashea, isheai huahuitata apashea. Chaimantaca casarashca cutin shug huarmihuan. Chai huarmica entonces chai huahuitacunata mana ricui valishea. Juin rimarish macashpa cashea. - Camba huahuacunata ri maipi saquimugri, ñuca canhuan causasha - nishca chai runitotaca. Runitoca rishea saritata camchashpa cucayushpa huahuacunata sachapi saquimungapa. Chaimantami huahuacunata nishca nin: - Canca caillapi tiyacui, ñucaca rini yantangapa - nishca runaca. Chaimanta huahuacunaca: - Ari, taitito, ñucanchi caillapi shuyagrunchi. Canca utca shamungui - nishca. - Cancunaca caillapi canguichi. Ñuca rini yantata chigtangapa - nishpa sachaman rishea.

Chaimanta sachapi shug sapoman valirishca 'taj taj' niouuhun. Chaimanta huahuacunaca nishca: - Taititoca yantatami chigtacun, yantatami chigtacun - nishca. Chaimanta entonces ña mana shamuna cagpi, huahuacunaca chaillapi sueñushea. Cayandica chai sara camchitata shitash shitash shitash risheacuna sachapi ama chingaringapa. Chaimanta risheacuna ricungapa chai yanta chigtap puestopi: - ¡Maipimi taitito? - nish. Chaimanta taititoca ña mana ricurishca chaipi ña, illashea. Chaimanta nishca nin: - Taitito ñami rishea - nishpaca. Sara camchitata ricushpa ricushpa shamushcacuna sachamanta llugshishcacuna.

Chaimanta sachamanta llugshishpaca entonces ña huasiman parag shamushcacuna. Chayashpa huasi siquicitollapi tiyacushca huahuacunaca. Yayaca ña merendacushca chai huarmihuan. Chaimanta nishca nin yayaca: - Ai, hija, ñuca cai plato lugritota ñuca huahuacunapi ñugpapi churashcani imalla - nishca yaya. Chaipica nishca nin huahuacunaca: - Taitito caipimi canchi - nish. Chaipi ña chai taititopa huarmica nishca nin: - Ña quiru nanaihuan huañunimi, ña quiru nanaihuan huañunimi. Ña singai callarishca.

Chaimanta entonces taitaca cutin ña huahuacunata aparishca mai sacha más shitamungapa, más. Más sacha alturaspi shitamungapa. Chaimanta si huahuacunaca ña mana llugshi valishea. Chaimanta si huahuacunaca ña mana llugshi valishpaca shug jatun sachamanta jahushpa chapashea: - ¡Maipimi huasi tiyan? - nishpa. Chaimanta entonces shug huasita ricushca shug sacha ucupi ura pambapi, Chaimanta chai sacha pambapi huahuacunaca c'atinacurishca isheai tucushpa. Isheai tucushpa rishea sachapica.

Shug haciendapi chayashpa chai haciendapi shug jatun mamarucushi tiyacushca yanushpa pailapi. Chaimanta huahuacunaca allilla shuhua-mugrishca nin micunata. Chaimanta huahuaca nishca nin, turitaca nishca nin: - Campish shamui, campish shamui. Caipimi shug cristiano tiyashca - nishpa pailamanta llugshishpa micushca shuhuwash shuhuwash shuhuwash. Chaimanta chai panica cutin shug ruritota quinzhullishca cashea. Chaimanta chai mamaca shamushca ña, chai mama ña japishca huahuitacunataca, Nishca nin: - Caillaman shamui, hijos. Caillaman shamui - nishpa huahuata ucuman churashca.

Ña huahua ucupi cagpica nishca nin: - Jahua altoman jahuai, Ñuca huahuacuna shamushpaca cancunataca micungami - nishpa, Chaimantaca nishca jahua altopica huahuacunaca cuchitopi tiyacushea nin. Chai cuchitopi tiyacushpaca entonces nishca nin: - Ña huahuacunaca shamushca - nin.

Filaitlla juin, ahoa, Chaimantaca nishca nin: - Ñucamanga aicha ashnan jahuapi, aicha ashnan jahuapi - nishca nin chai huahuacunaca. Chaimanta chai huahuacunaca entonces ña juin tiyarishca ucupi juin callimanta. Listata pasashpa cai shug huahuacuna maipi ima ruhuamushea maipi imanashea listata pasashpa tiyarishca. Chaimanta chai huahuacunaca ña nishca nin: - Mamita ñucaca juin aicha jahuapi ashnacun, Juin aicha jahuapi ashnacun. Chaimantaca mamaca nishca nin: - Mana, hijito, mana.

Chaimanta huahuacunaca llugshirishca nin cutin ña mai trabajoman. Chai huahuacunaca llugshirigpica nishca nin mamaca: - Viditacuna, ññachu huiralla canguichi? - nishpa nishca nin. Chaimantaca shug Mamita Virgencitaca shug ucucha chupitata cushca nin. Mamaca tapushca nin: - Ricushun deditota, ññachu huira canguichi? - nishca nin.

Chaimanta huahuacunaca shug ucucha chupitata ricuchishca nin. - Manara, hijos, manara huirayanguichichu - nishca nin.

Chaimanta ucucha chupitataca ña chingachishcacuna paicunaca. Chingachishpaca dedota ricuchishcacuna ña paicunaca. Dedota ricuchigpica: - Ai, viditas, ñami huira canguichi - nishca nin. Chaimanta shug jatun pailata shayachishca nin huahuacunata pelangapa chai mamaca. Chaimanta entonces pelangapa tiyaricugpishi ña cutin chai huarmi huambrita charishca shug chuchicito. Ruritota apashcamanta chuchicito tugyashca. Chaimanta huahuacuna shamushpaca ña micungapa cagpi chai c'ari huahuacunaca nishca nin: - Cunan mamita ña caldoshun cunan huirami cashea - nishca nin. Chaipi mamitaca nishca nin: - Bueno.

Chaimanta ña pailapi yacuta shayachishpaca, nishca nin ña: - Shamui caiman - nishca nin -, caipimi canca armarigringui - nish paila puntitapi huarmi huambritataca churachishca nin. Churashca nin timbucug yacupi tangashpa shitangapa. Huarmi huambritaca nishca nin: - Canra tiyari caipi - nishca nin. Huarmi huambrita rishpaca paitara yacupi tangash shitashca. Pai pailamanta llugshishpaca uchupapi chapurishpa juin singushca nin chaica. Chaipi c'ari huahuacuna nishca nin: - Gallo blanco ñucapa, gallo yana ñucapa - nishca nin. Chaimi mishicu gallitoca cantashca. Chaipi tugyash tucui llugshirishca juin, chai huahuacuna chai brujacuna tucui maita.

The old woman and the children

I am going to tell a story. Look: there lived a widower who had two children. Then he married again, and his second wife couldn't stand those children. She would beat and scold them. One day she said to the man: "Take your children and leave them somewhere, then I shall live with you."

So the man toasted maize for the road and took the children to leave them in the forest. Then he told the children: "You stay here, I am going to collect firewood."

"Yes, father, we'll just wait here. Come back soon," they replied.

"You stay here. I'm going to chop wood," he said as he went off into the forest.

Then in the forest he asked a frog to make a chopping sound. And the children said; "Our father's cutting wood." Then when he didn't return, they fell asleep right there. The next day they went along throwing the toasted maize to the ground so as not to get lost in the forest. Then they went to look in the place where the wood was being chopped. "Where's father?" they said. But their father was nowhere to be seen, he had gone. So they said: "Father has gone already." So following the trail of toasted maize they came out of the forest.

When they had emerged from the forest they arrived at their house. Arriving, they stood just behind the house. Their father was having supper now with his wife and he spoke, saying: "Oh, my dear, at least I have put a little dish of broth where my children used to sit." Thereupon, the children called out: "Here we are father!" Then their father's wife said: "I've got terrible toothache! I've got terrible toothache!" And she began to roll on the ground in anger.

So after that, the father carried the children to the forest again. This time he went to leave them further in and farther away in a place from which they wouldn't be able to get out. This time, truly unable to find the way out, they climbed to the top of a tall tree and looked out from it in the hopes of spying a house. Then they saw a house in a clearing deep in the forest. So together they followed the trail through the woods towards that place.

They arrived at a *hacienda* and there there was a large old woman cooking over a pan. So the children went forward stealthily and stole some food. Then one of the children said to her brother: "You come too, you come too. There's a person here." So saying they stole food from the pan. Then the sister took an egg and hid it in her bosom. Then the old woman came and caught the children and said: "Come here, children, come here." And she put the children indoors.

When they were indoors she told them: "Climb upstairs or my children will eat you when they come home." So then the children climbed upstairs and crouched in a corner. When they were hidden in that corner, the woman said: "My children are back now." Her children filed into the house and as they entered said: "I can smell meat up there, there is a smell of meat up there." Then those old woman's children all gathered in and sat down together in the room. They put together a list of all the things they had done, where they had been, and what they had been up to. Then again they said: "Mother, there is a strong smell of meat from up there." But the old woman answered: "No, my son, no."

After that the children went off to work again. When they had gone out the old woman spoke to her captives; "My little treasures, are you fat yet?" Then the Virgen Mary gave them a mouse's tail so that when the old woman said: "Let's see your finger, are you fat yet?" the children showed her the tail of the mouse. "Not yet, children, you're not fat yet," said she.

Then one day they lost the mouse tail. Having lost it, they showed her their own fingers, and when they did so she declared: "Ah, my treasures, now you're fat."

Then she got a big pot ready in order to skin the children. Now as she was preparing to skin them, the little girl suddenly found she had a baby chick, which had hatched from the egg she had taken. Then the old woman's children came home in order to eat the children, beginning with the girl. As they were getting ready to eat her those male children said to their mother: "The child is fat now, mother, let's have some soup."

And the mother replied: "Very well."

Then as she was getting the water ready in the pot, she called to the little girl: "Come here. You are going to have a wash here."

And she sat her on the edge of the pot. She sat her there in order to push her into the boiling water. But the little girl said: "You sit here first."

And the girl pushed the old woman into the water instead. Then as she got out of the pot, she rolled over and got herself covered in ash from the fire. Then the boy children said: "The white cockerel is ours. The black cockerel is ours."

But then the *gallo mishicu* crowed and thereupon they all ran away, with their hearts bursting: the children, witches and all. They disappeared who knows where.

Informant: JMT, 7th July, 1976

cf. A-T 327A: Hansel and Gretel

S143 Abandonment in forest

R135 Abandoned children find way back by clue (breadcrumbs, grain, pebbles, etc.)

N776 Light seen from tree lodging place at night leads to adventures

G401 Children wander into ogre's house

G422 Ogre imprisons victim

G82 Cannibal fattens victim

G84 Fee-fi-fo-fum. Cannibal returning home smells human flesh and makes exclamation

G82.1.1 Captive sticks out bone instead of finger when cannibal tries to test fatness

G526 Ogre deceived by feigned ignorance of hero. Hero must be shown how to get into oven (or the like). Ogre shows him and permits himself to be burnt

Z65.2 Series: white cock, red cock, black cock

A1751 The devil's animals and God's

G303,25,19 Parliament of devils

D838,2 Magic object taken from ogre's house

G303,16,1 By help of Virgin devil may be escaped

Tale 26: *Mama Ahuardonahuan huahuacunahuan*

Viudo viuda cazarana nin cada uno huahuitacunahuan. Huarmica c'aripa huahuitacunata mana ricuna pudina nin paipa huahuaman granitota carashpa, cutin c'aripa huahuacunaman solo calditollata carashpa. Cusahuan mana alli causan nin. Cusata nina nin: - Camba huahuata ri maipi shitagri. Chaipimi alli causasha - nina nin. Cusaca ña chaita uyashpaca rina nin ña huahuitacunaman mai montañaman ña apashpa chaipi ña montañapi shitangapa. Chaupi montañapi shitana nin.

Chaipi chayashpaca: - Rinimi ñuca yantata p'itingapa - nishpaca huahuitacunata saquishpaca rina nin, Ña chaipica yantata p'itingapa rini nishpaca shug taru, shug pututa saquina nin huarcushpa, Huairahuanca chaíta 'taj taj' nichicun nin ña. Juin tardeyamuna nin ña, Tardeyamugpi huahuacunaca rina nin ricungapa, Chaipica solo chai matilla huarcuacusheca nin, Chaimanta huahuacunaca ña cutin rishpaca más desiértarishca más desiértarishca montañapi.

Montaña chashna jatun yuritapi huichicush chaipi sueñuna nin ña alto jurapi. Chashnashpa ña cutin cayandi punzha puri callarina nin. Chashnash jatun yuraman huichicush ricuna nin maiman huasi tiyan ricurinchi, maiman lllagtauna ima ricurish nish. Chaimanta uraiman ricurina nin jatun llano cuchupi semejante hacienda. Chaiman avansana nin huahuitacunaca. Chaimanta ña chai llano esquinapi hacienda caipi chayashpaca ña c'ari huahuaca rina nin chaipi ricuringapa.

Chaipi Ahuardonaca tortillata ruhuacurca cashca nin. Chai primero rishpa ña c'ari huahua jillushca nin ña tortillata. Chaimanta ña qu'ipa viaje ripica panica asishca nin. Chaipi ña Ahuardona de contado c'ari huahuata japirishca nin: - Ai, ñuca huahuitacuna - nish. Chaimanta ña tinajapi satish churashca nin huahuitacunata ña cebangapa. Chaimanta cicuchina nin ucucha chupitata. Chaimanta ña cada semana deditota ricuchina nin, chaipi huahuitacunaca ricuchina nin ucucha chupata. - P'u, todavía tullu tulluracunami - nishpa nina nin ña.

Chashnashi ña shug viqjepica ña chupata chingachishca nin huahuacuna. Chaimanta shug viajepica dedota ricuchina nin ña. -Ñami gordo cashcacuna - nishpaca ña Ahuardonaca.

Yantata ashtai callarina nin. Ashtash achcata ashtashpaca hornota ruhuashpa ña, chaipi ninata japichina nin. Chai ninata japichina nin, Chai ninata japichishpaca huahuitacunataca nina nin ña: - Shamuichi cai ladopi siringuichi - nish -, nina ladopi.

Chaimanta: - Ricuchi ima shina siririnata - nishpa ña huahuitacunaca nina nin.

Cashna sirirish nigpi huahuitacunaca yuyarishcacuna nin. Paitara nina ladopi siriricugpi tangash shitashca nin ninapi.

Chaimanta huahuitacunaca urcuman risheacuna nin atishpa. Chayashcacuna añangupa huasipi. Añangu nishca nin: - Apamui ñuca zafasha ñucaman sumerru copa junda cuzhituta masheash guichi - nishca nin.

Masheash chayamusheacuna nina nin ña sumerru copa junda cuzhituhuan. Chaíta cushacacuna nin. Chaimanta Ahuardonaca c'atishca nin puchca cururuta ñumpachishpa. Puchca cururuta ñumpachish chayashpaca nishca nin: - ¿Manchu uyarín ñuca huahuitacuna? - nish.

Ña chaipica: - Ñuca quiru nanaihuan cani, cambia huahuataca entregasha, ñuca quiru nanaihuan cani - nishpa.

Huahuitacunata cada ladopi cashna satina nin. - Ñuca mai cambia huahuata entregasha, ñucaman favorta ruhuai - nina nin ña añangu.

Chaimanta shug jatun pataman rina nin urcuman semejante peña. Chai patapi ña siquipi llugchichina nin piquita. Chaimanta entonces ña chai pata ladoman churana nin añangu imacha Ahuardonata. Ña llugchi callarigpi ashun ucu ucupi nishpa ña 'paju' ña chashna ucuta ashunlla cashna ricurishca 'pez' 'ajo!' Ahuardonataca ucu huacuta shitashca nin ña chaipi shunguta tугyachish. Chaillami ñuca cuento.

Mama Ahuardona and the children

A widow and a widower, both of whom had children by their first marriages, were married. The woman couldn't stand her husband's children and would feed her own children grain while only giving a little clear soup to them. She didn't live at ease with her husband and one day said to him: "Take your children and abandon them somewhere. Then I'll live happily."

Hearing that, the husband took the children way into the wild forest and left them there.

When they arrived there, he told them: "I'm going to cut firewood." And so saying he left them. Then he took a gourd and hung it on the branch of a tree so that it would bang against the wood in the wind. It grew very late. As it grew late, the children went to see. There was only the gourd banging against the tree. So the children went on getting more and more lost in the forest.

There they climbed a tall tree and slept there. Then the following day they set off walking. From the tall tree they were able to see where there might be a house or a village. Then below on the edge of a clearing they made out a big *hacienda*. So they headed for that. Then when they arrived at the *hacienda* on the edge of the clearing, the boy went to take a look.

There was Ahuardona cooking *tortillas*. The boy went forward and stole a *tortilla*. Then on the next trip to steal, his sister giggled. Then Ahuardona seized upon the boy: "Aha, my little children," she said. Then she put the children into a tall jar to fatten them up. Then they showed a mouse's tail. Every week instead of showing a finger, they would show a mouse's tail. "Pooh, they're still skinny," Ahuardona would say .

Thus it was that on one occasion the children lost the tail. So that time they showed a finger. "Now they're fat," said Ahuardona. So she began to gather firewood. She collected together a lot and prepared an oven, then proceeded to light the fire. As she was lighting the fire she said to the children: "Come and lie down here beside the fire."

Then the children said: "Show us how to lie down."

The children devised this plan when she wanted them to lie down. When she lay down by the fire first, they pushed her into the flames.

Then the children escaped to the hillside. They arrived at the house of a skunk. The skunk said: "Go and fetch me a hatful of insect larva." So they went and came back with a hatful of insect larva and gave it to him. Then Ahuardona followed them carrying a ball of wool before her. She arrived with the ball of wool before her and asked: "Has there been any sign of my children?"

The skunk replied: "I have toothache, I'll hand over your children, I have toothache."

And he put the children one on either side. "I'll hand over your children if you do me a favour," said the skunk.

Then he went up onto a high ledge of rock on the hillside. There on the ledge he made Ahuardona extract a flea from his backside. He placed Ahuardona near the rim of the ledge. Then as she began to get the flea out, loud noises issued from inside him and then, pow! he threw Ahuardona over the cliff to her death. That's my story.

Informant: SM, 10th June, 1976

as for Tale 25 plus: G552 Rescue from ogre by helpful animals

Tale 27: Mama Ahuardona

Mama Ahuardona diz que era una mujer muy veterana, no. Tenta cabellos bien largos, pero tenta pulgas y piojos y muchas cosas en la cabeza, en todas partes. Entonces los hijos son los demonios dicen, no. Entonces uno se hacia criada de la Mama Ahuardona. Entonces dos hermanos creo, no me recuerdo bien, un día se sentaron a espulgar a la Mama Ahuardona. Quedó bien dormida.

Pero antes de hacer eso diz que tenta a los dos hijos en un cajon pa' que no vea el propio hijo, no, fue el demonio. Entonces cada vez que venta el hijo o el demonio, le iba ver en el cajón. Y del cajón diz que tenta un rabo de ratón, le mostraron un rabo de ratón así. Entonces cuando ve, de ahí ese demonio diz que decía: - Todavía están flacos, todavía están flacos.

Entonces al mucho tiempo ya iban a trabajar, es que salían.

Bueno, un día es que estaban espulgando a la mujer. Han estado espulgando diz que ha quedado dormida. Entonces ellos avanzaban a trincar por los cabellos, amarrar por todos lados. Bien amarrado le iban dejando y llevando todas las cosas de ella.

Old Woman Ahuardona

They say that Mama Ahuardona was a very old woman. She had very long hair, but she had fleas and ticks and lots of things in her hair and everywhere. Well, her children were the devils, right? Then a girl became Mama Ahuardona's servant. And the brother and sister sat down one day to delice Mama Ahuardona. She fell fast asleep.

But before that they say that she had the two children in a box so that her own son who was the devil wouldn't see them. Then every day when the devil-son came, he went to see them in the box. And from the box they say they showed him a mouse tail, so that when that devil saw it, he would say: "They're still thin, they're still thin." Then after some time the devils would go out to go to work.

Well one day the children were delicing the woman. They say that as they were delicing her she fell asleep. Then they were able to fasten her by the hair, they tied her up on all sides by the hair. When she was secure they left her, taking all her things with them.

Informant: GGG, 28th October, 1976

some as for Tale 25, no additions

Tale 28: Mama Ahuardona añashuan

Shug runa concubinata charirca. Chai runata Mama Ahuardona aparirca castigangapa. Chaimanta shug labor chumbita chumbillishpa chayarca infieroman. Chaipi huichcarca, infiernopi huichcarca. Chai labor chumbita ricushpa cutin, huahuacuna nirca: - Can cai ñagcha chumbi alajata ricuni, chaita ñucanchiman cui.

Mama Ahuardonaca rircami individuoman castigota cungapa, remediota masheangapa. Huahua cucucunaca cacharcami cacharishca. Labor chumbita saquishpa paicunaman cuchun nishpa curca. Runa llugshirca infiernomanta. Llugshishpa shamurca. Huahuacuna alvertirca que ligerito richun, ama demorachun. Bueno. Ciertota llugshirca juicio illag shamurca infierno-mantaca.

Shug jatun machai tiyareca, Machaipica añas tiyacureca pulluta ahuashpa. Chaipi miticureca, Mama Ahuardona c'atimureca puchea cururuhuan japi runata nishpa. Chai machai pungupita yaicureca. Añasman nircami Mama Ahuardona: - Chai runata ñucaman entregai, llugchish cui - nirca. Puchea cururu yaicugpica entonces añasca nircami: - Ñuca carman runata entregasha, ñucaman shug favorta ruhuai. Pulluta ahuash tiyacuni entonces siquipi yaicureami piqui. Mana ima shina llugchi valinichu. Llugchish cui - nishpa rogareca añasca.

Chaipi Mama Ahuardona chaita llugchingapa ugsirca. Chaita llugchiugpi entonces añas supirishpa Ahuardonata callpachirca. Runata shitash llugshirca. Mana ashin cutireca, puchea cururu chaipi saquirirca.

Chaipi añas nircami, Mama Ahuardona llugshishca qu'ipa: - Cunanmanta chai concubinata shitash jichungui. Quiquin huarmita c'uyangui, quiquin huarmita amangui. Quiquin esposami valin. Santamente causangui. Chaimanta ña quishpish shamushpa quiquin huarmiñan causarca santamente. Chaipimi ña shitash jichurca. Chaipimi tucurirca.

Mama Ahuardona and the skunk

There was a man who had a mistress, Mama Ahuardona carried that man away to punish him. Tying a woven *chumbi* around himself he arrived at Hell. He was shut in there. Then when the children saw the woven *chumbi*, they said: "What a pretty striped *chumbi* I see, give it to us." Mama Ahuardona went to give an individual a punishment, and to fetch medicine. The devil children meanwhile freed the man and sent him away. When they asked him to give them the *chumbi*, he left it for them. The man came out of hell. The children warned him to go quickly and not to delay on the road. So it was true that without awareness of what had happened, he came out of Hell.

There was a big cave and in the cave was a skunk weaving a blanket. The man hid there. Mama Ahuardona came after him with a ball of wool to catch the man. She entered the doorway of the cave and said to the skunk: "Hand that man over to me, bring him out."

As she entered with her ball of wool, the skunk said: "I shall hand the man over to you if you do me a favour. As I was sitting here weaving the blanket, a flea crawled up my backside. I can't get it out at all. Get it out for me," the skunk asked her.

Thereupon Mama Ahuardona went to get the flea out. As she was extracting it, the skunk expelled gas and put Ahuardona to flight. She left leaving the man behind. She didn't come back again, her ball of wool remained there.

When Mama Ahuardona had gone, the skunk said to the man: "From now on leave your mistress. Love your own wife, care for your own wife. Your own wife is good. Live a moral life."

And so the man was saved and came away to live a moral life with his own wife. He left his mistress. That's the end.

Informant: AB, 4th August, 1976

G530.2 Help from ogre's daughter (or son)

B300 Helpful animal

G500 Ogre defeated

Commentary

1.0 Introduction

These texts shall be discussed mainly in connection with their narrative pattern, and with reference to a number of connected variants from Cañar, other parts of highland Ecuador, and Peru. The main aim will be to discuss how far the tale of the encounter of two abandoned children with a cannibalistic old woman can be said to be an oicotype of A-T327A: 'Hansel and Gretel'. The term 'oicotype' was originally borrowed from botany by von Sydow, and applied as follows to the study of folklore:

"When then in the field of traditions a widely spread tradition, such as a tale or a legend (ie. sagn), forms special types through isolation inside and suitability for certain culture districts, the term oicotype can be used in the science of ethnology and folklore."
(1948:243, note 15)

Dundes, in reference to von Sydow, has clarified the use of the term still further:

"The concept oicotype differs from the notion of subtype in that the oicotype is tied by definition to a very specific locale....What von Sydow calls oicotypification consists of the regular, almost predictable alteration that takes place when the content of a tale is changed to fit the culturally preferred pattern in a given locale."
(1965 :220)

Certain of the texts in this sub-section suggest strong influence by the A-T type: are they then a Cañar variant, or oicotype, of 'Hansel and Gretel', and nothing else? This is the matter to be considered. The original use of the term, as the above definitions show, was confined to the study of typical local features of content that made a tale 'oicotypical'. I shall look at the Cañar texts partly from that angle. However, Dundes has taken the use of the term beyond von Sydow's original application of it, showing how just as there may exist oicotypes of content, so may there be structural forms of a narrative which are oicotypical to a particular locale, (1) It is

from this latter angle that the 'Mama Ahuardona' texts will be examined in particular. There is evidence that whilst at first glance these texts seem merely to be adaptations of an Indo-European tale type, there is much in their structure that owes nothing to that type. They are in fact the result of a fusion of two tale traditions or two tale types, one Indo-European and one Andean, rather than simply an oicotype of a borrowed tale. The reasons why such a fusion should have occurred will be discussed, and further support for the views of Hymes and Dundes with regard to the borrowing process - discussed in Chapter 2 - will be found. Tale 28, for example, shows that there is an Andean tradition separate from the 'Hansel and Gretel' pattern; Mama Ahuardona is a part of the local belief system, and she may play a part in tales which have nothing to do with the A-T type.

2.0 Narrative structure

Emphasis will be laid in this part of the analysis upon the questions, peculiar to the texts at hand, that have been outlined above. If we are to consider the extent to which some or all of these tales might be Cañar oicotypes of A-T327A, it will help to reproduce here the Aarne-Thompson description of the type, as a point of reference:

"327A. Hansel and Gretel. I arrival at ogre's house.
 (a) children are abandoned by poor parents in a wood.
 (b) but they find their way back by cloth shreds or pebbles that they have dropped. (c) the third time birds eat their breadcrumbs, or grain clue and (d) they wander until they come to a gingerbread house which belongs to a witch.
 II the ogre is deceived. The ogre smells human flesh and has the children imprisoned and fattened. (b) when his finger is to be cut to test his fatness the hero sticks out a bone or piece of wood. (d) the ogre's wife or child burned in his own oven (Type 1121). III Escape."

The discussion will be taken in two parts: a consideration of oicotypical features of content, and a consideration of those of structure.

2.1 An oicotype of content?

Preceding studies of Amerindian versions of the type have, generally speaking, kept their search for the oicotypical elements in the texts to the level of content. An example is Powlison (1974), who attempts to explain transformation in motifs in his Peruvian Amazon version in terms of Yagua material culture. The same approach could be applied to my own material to explain, for example, the substitution of maize kernels for breadcrumbs to mark the trail home (Tale 25); why a gourd replaces the dead branch of European versions to sound like an axe against wood (Tale 26); (2) and why the old woman figure lives in a *hacienda* rather than a gingerbread house (Tales 25 & 26).

Sometimes such transformations may be explained by the narrative traditions of the culture, rather than by material or sociological features of it. In Tale 25, for example, the father enlists the aid of a frog to make the sound of wood-chopping, which motif surely derives from the Andean tale type 'The condor and the shepherdess' - described in sub-section (e) - where the heroine typically asks a frog to make sounds of washing while she escapes from her condor lover. This same motif recurs in the Cañar fox and rabbit cycle, incidentally, where the rabbit employs a frog to make wood-chopping noises to keep the fox happy while he, the rabbit, escapes (Tale 38). The recurrence of the motif in these three different type contexts can be explained in terms of the tales' structure: in each case the narrative demands a device whereby the heroine or trickster be enabled to escape from the villain or dupe, as the case may be. In each case the device is the use of sound to deceive the one into thinking the other is close by and hasn't escaped at all. The effectiveness of the frog motif in the traditional Andean type has caused its spread to those other contexts where the tale structure invites it.

2.2 Structural oicotype?

It is straightforward enough to account for transformations at the level of content when a talé is borrowed from an outside culture. Oicotypical features of such a tale's structure are less obvious, and in order to identify and explain them, it is necessary to examine the tale in the context of the narrative patterns typical of the culture area. I shall compare the narrative structure of the 'Mama Ahuardona' tales with that of other tales in this section, and show how each of them is either a structural oicotype of A-T327A, or belongs to a separate narrative tradition, or represents a fusion of both of these trends. In order to establish which is the case for each of the tales, I shall look at each in turn.

2.2.1 Tale 25

This tale is a structural oicotype of A-T327A whose originality is to be found in the intrusion of episodes that belong more usually to the narrative pattern associated with devil legends of the Group (ii) variety. These were tales in which, to recap: the hero, wandering from home, climbs a tree to take his bearings, then comes to a deserted *hacienda*. As he shelters there, sometimes finding food, a party of devils arrive and hold a meeting; the eavesdropping hero is saved by the crowing of the cockerel or other typical means. The form of this local legend invited the introduction of A-T130: 'The animals in night quarters', which fits the structure almost exactly. I believe the motif N776 Light seen from tree lodging place at night leads to adventures' came into Cañar tradition via that borrowing, and it is now to be found inserted into many tales where the narrative structure invites it, such as the present.

The intercalation of features of local devil legends into Tale 25 is made easier by the fact that Mama Ahuardona herself is, in my belief,

no immigrant witch of Indo-European origins, but rather a well-known figure of the local belief system whose functional similarities with the old woman in A-T327A suited her for this present rôle. Comparative material to be looked at later will support this suggestion. As a part of the belief system, she is thought to be mother of the devil, and it is this association that encourages the insertion of devil-legend sequences into the present text. The table below has been arranged so as to make clear the interaction of the two traditions: the Indo-European type and the local Andean legend:

| Tale 25: <i>Huahuacunahuan jatun mamarucuhuan</i> | | | | |
|---|---------|--|---|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | | FUNCTION |
| | | Corresponding to A-T327A | Corresponding to Cafiar devil legend | |
| I | | widower remarries, step-mother illtreats children (Hs) | | 1 |
| | i | father abandons Hs in wood | | 2 |
| | ii | Hs return home | | 9d |
| II | iii | Hs are abandoned again | | 2 |
| | iv | | Hs climb tree and spy hacienda | |
| | v | Hs arrive at old woman's hacienda | | 3/7 |
| | vi | | Hs steal food including an egg | 4 |
| | vii | old woman captures Hs and fattens them | | |
| | viii | | devil children come home and smell flesh | |
| | ix | | devils list sins | |
| | x | | devils leave 'for work' | |
| | xi | Virgen gives Hs mouse's tail | | 6 |
| | xii | Hs lose tail, old woman prepares pot | | 4 |
| | xiii | | stolen egg hatches | 6 |
| | xiv | | devil children return | |
| | xv | H pushes woman into own pot | | 9a |
| | xvi | | cock crows, old woman and devils overcome | |

The fusion of these two traditions is so well-established in this version that it has developed its own inner logic to account, for example, for the crowing of the *gallo mishicu* that traditionally puts the devils to flight: the theft of the egg (Episode(vi)) is a preparation for its hatching out (Episode(xiii)), and this in turn inferably accounts for the timely crowing of the cockerel (Episode (xvi')). The introduction of this final episode has even brought with it the traditional formula with which the devils announce the crowing of the different coloured cockerels, none of which affect them but the *mishicu*. Episode(viii) is somewhat debatably placed in the column of those episodes that derive from Cañar devil legend. On the one hand the flesh-smelling ogre is a feature of the Indo-European type ('G84 Fee-fi-fo-fum'), yet at the same time it has become such a well-integrated attribute of the devil in Cañar legends, that I consider its intrusion into the present text to be due to that tradition rather than any other.(3)

2.2.2 Tale 26

In this tale the old woman figure is named, whereas her identity as Mama Ahuardona in Tale 25 had to be inferred from close similarities between the two texts. This tale again follows A-T327A closely up to a point, but develops in such a way that its identity as an oicotype can be firmly asserted - if we allow for what amounts to the fusion of narrative traditions to count as the formation of an oicotype. Unlike Tale 25, this tale does not owe its originality to an interweaving of structural features deriving from local devil legends; in fact, all those episodes listed in the second column of that table are lacking. It does follow the sequence of episodes that correspond to A-T327A up until Episode (xii), where instead of preparing a cooking pot, the Mama Ahuardona lights a fire into which the children succeed in pushing

her. She does not die, however, but pursues them as they escape, and another move develops. There are one or two other points of variation in the tale's content up to the end of Move II: for example, the successful return home of the children by following a trail of maize is missing; the father's first attempt at abandoning them succeeds. As the tale develops into Move III, the point of divergence from A-T327A is reached, and the sequence of events is then as follows:

| Tale 26: <i>Mama Ahuardonahuan huahuacunahuan</i> | | | |
|---|---------|--|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I & II as for Tale 25 | | | |
| III | xvii | Hs arrive at house of skunk | 3 |
| | xviii | Hs fetch insect larvae for skunk | 4 |
| | ixx | skunk hides Hs | 6 |
| | xx | Mama Ahuardona arrives looking for Hs | 3 |
| | xxi | skunk denies knowledge of their whereabouts, asks MA to remove flea from back-side | 6 |
| | xxii | skunk releases gas in MA's face, she falls over cliff | 10a |

The fusion of this sequence of events with the foregoing narrative is not unique in the Andean area. By looking at some of the comparative data we can appreciate more fully how the Cañar texts constitute at least an Andean, if not a Cañar, oicotype by dint of this characteristic. Ortiz Rescanière records two versions of the Peruvian myth of 'Wa-Qon': in one version, this cannibalistic monster captures and devours the mother of the divine twins, offspring of 'Pacha-Kamac' and 'Pacha-Mama'; the twins then escape from him by tying him up by the hair while he is sleeping (Tale 27 contains this motif). They then take refuge in the home of a skunk, who sets a trap for the Wa-Qon when the latter comes in pursuit and causes him to fall to his death in an abyss. (4) The myth unravels further, describing how the

twins eventually ascend to the heavens and transform into Sun and Moon. While the outer structure of the myth differs, the sequence concerning the skunk forms a self-contained unit which has been effectively transplanted into Tale 26 whose context at that point demands it, and whose structure easily accommodates it.

Also in Peru, tales are found of a cannibalistic female known as Achiquee. Ortiz Rescanière records two versions, one of which opens with an account of the abandonment of two children due to famine; they encounter Achiquee who devours the brother. The girl escapes carrying her brother's bones and is sheltered by a skunk; later the boy is revived from his bones by God. (5) We should look forward here for a moment, and note that the girl's escape sequence is found in GS/CA/14, to be reviewed below.

The Ecuadorean Chificha tales, which appear to form an oicotype for Imbabura, have much in common with Achiquee and, by extension, with Mama Ahuardona. Typical versions are: JC/IM/6: "*Chificha payapaj parlu*", LS/IM/3: "*La taita huahuacunahuan*", LS/IM/2: "*Shug llactapi taita-mama tiashca*", and Parsons's two variants of "*Chipicha*" (1945: 131-134). In Jose Chavez's version, while again beginning according to the A-T327A pattern, the children then encounter the cannibalistic Chificha who asks them to delouse her. While doing so, they discover a second mouth in the back of her head, the one she uses to devour human beings. They escape when she falls asleep and are sheltered by a condor who hides them in his nose, and denies knowledge of their whereabouts when Chificha comes looking. The children then ascend to heaven in a *paila* and Chificha, attempting to follow them, falls to earth and is killed. The first of Parsons's variants recounts the devouring of the brother by the Chificha and his sister's escape carrying his bones with her.

The connection between Tale 26 and the traditions found for other parts of the Andes lies in the development of the narrative beyond Episode (xvi'), that is to say, in Move III. The children's protection by the skunk and the latter's deception of the Mama Ahuardona when she comes in pursuit, is reminiscent of sequences taking up similar structural positions in the narrative in the Achiquee and Wa-Qon traditions in Peru, and in the Chificha tales of Imbabura. In the case of the latter, I take the rôle of the condor to be structurally equivalent to that of the skunk elsewhere. As we look at the remaining texts from Cañar, more lines of comparison with other versions will become apparent.

2.2.3 Tale 27

This text is incomplete due no doubt to the informant's rather hazy recollection both of the narrative details and the sequence of episodes. It is worth including, nonetheless, as it provides evidence of fusion between features belonging to devil legends (as also found in Tale 25), and features found elsewhere in Andean narrative tradition (as also found in Tale 26). Despite its brevity, we can find a hint of the devil legend connection in the reference to the Mama Ahuardona's devil sons, who leave to 'go to work' (cf. Tale 25, Episode (x)). The delicing motif is a common one in the Chificha tales, and the device of tying her up by her hair in order to escape recalls the twins' escape in the Peruvian Wa-Qon myth. (6)

| Tale 27: <i>Mama Ahuardona</i> | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------|---------------------------------------|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | children (Hs) in MA's service | 1 |
| | i | Hs kept in box | 4 |
| | ii | MA's devil children smell human flesh | |
| | iii | devil children leave for work | |
| | iv | Hs delice MA | |
| | v | MA falls asleep | 9a |
| | vi | Hs tie her up by hair and escape | |

It is also of interest that this variant has dispensed altogether with the sequence of events leading up to the children's capture by the old woman, deriving from A-T327A; its theme and content belong entirely to local and Andean folktale traditions. Although in rational terms this omission can be explained by faulty recollection of the tale on the narrator's part, it is interesting that that which is remembered is that very portion which we assume was introduced from outside in the first place. When folk memory begins to fail, so it would seem, it is the locally traditional which is the last to be forgotten .

2.2.4 GS/CA/14

I now introduce a comparative text which, belonging to the same culture area, contributes valuable evidence to the case for the existence of a Cañar oicotype, or set of oicotypes, of A-T327A, (7) It is a text to which I have already referred in connection with the *ullachu* tales, where we saw that the sequence where the heroine escapes carrying her brother's bones, from which he later revives, had been inset into GS/CA/18: "*Ishcai huanquimanta*", due to the structural similarities between the two narratives at that point, and an apparent categorical association between the *ullachu* and the Mama Ahuardona. The early part of Schulze's text follows that of my Tale 26, that is to say the lines of A-T327A, with one or two minor points of difference: broad beans instead of maize kernels are used to leave a trail, and that episode follows logically on to the children's successful return home after their first abandonment; as in Tale 25, the second attempt at abandoning them is successful. The Mama Ahuardona fattens them on the flesh of unbaptized children; this detail is of relevance to my discussion of her structural connection with the Mama Huaca figure found in local belief elsewhere in the province, and a possible assimilation

in some aspects with lore surrounding the *urcu mama* (see § 4.0 below).

Whereas Tale 26 diverged from the A-T pattern after the children have pushed the old woman into her own fire, this variant diverges at an earlier stage, as soon as the old woman finds the children to be fat. At this point, she takes the brother into the house to sleep with her and the next move, which becomes Move III, develops:

| GS/CA/14: <i>Huahuacumata shitashcamanta</i> | | | |
|--|---------|--|----------------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| as for 26 to Move III | | | |
| III | xiii | MA takes boy child to sleep with her | 4 |
| | xiv | girl child hears cries in night | 9b |
| | xv | next morning finds her brother reduced to pile of bones | |
| | xvi | girl (H1) escapes with boy's (H2) bones | 2/6 |
| | xvii | meets <i>caballero</i> who tells her to look away while H2 revived | 3/6 |
| | xviii | H1 breaks looking taboo, H2 revives as dog only | 9a |
| IV | xix | <i>caballero</i> (God?) gives them religious token and sends them on their way | 6 |
| | xx | Hs arrive at deserted <i>hacienda</i> | 7 |
| | xxi | devils gather below | 3 |
| | xxii | devils list sins | 9a |
| | xxiii | overcome devils with religious token | |
| V | xxiv | continue journeys | 2 |
| | xxv | arrive in town where water has dried up and king is dying | 7 |
| | xxvi | use overheard knowledge from devils to put things to rights | 8 |
| | xxvii | father and stepmother called for, stepmother killed in punishment | not applicable |

As can be seen, this text diverges from the A-T pattern onto quite a different 'tack' from that of Tale 26; the similarity between the two texts is only in the episodes they both owe to the Indo-European tradition. GS/CA/14 strikes one immediately as being more complex and rich in detail than the versions in my own collection. Moreover, it elaborates many of the features drawn from other areas of

Andean tradition, already discussed in relation to that collection: after setting the scene along A-T327A lines, it develops at Move III into the 'escape with the bones' sequence also found in the Chificha and the Achiquee tales; at Move IV, the heroes arrive at a deserted *hacienda*, which event triggers off a sequence which coincides almost exactly to the Group (ii) devil legends of this collection. The sequence constitutes a tale in its own right in the case of Tale 12. The final episode of GS/CA/14 does not fit in with the pattern of tales in this section, no function can be applied to it. It derives, I believe, from a borrowed tale type - A-T707: 'The three golden sons' - at the end of which a wicked stepmother is punished in the same way, and a version of which was related to me by EDC, although not included in this study.

2.2.5 Remarks in summary of § 2.0

So far, I have discussed those tales involving the Mama Ahuardona which to a greater or lesser extent merge elements of A-T327A with structures derived from more traditional branches of Andean oral narrative, to form oicotypes of both structure and content. The two more traditional narrative patterns with which the A-T327A structure was found to be associated are that of the Wa-Qon myth and related tales, and that of the Cañar devil legends. (8) Tale 25 illustrates how two patterns may be ingeniously interwoven, the resulting hybrid becoming a coherent narrative in its own right. On the other hand, Tale 26 and GS/CA/14, whilst they join two branches of tradition into a logical whole, these are placed consecutively one after the other rather than being interwoven. Tale 25 combines A-T327A with devil legend structure; Tale 26 combines it with the Wa-Qon type structure; GS/CA/14 owes something to each of these. Tale 27, despite its

impoverished narrative style, also provides a link between the Wa-Qon tradition and the devil legend tradition, and furthermore almost entirely suppresses the A-T327A elements.

3.0 Tale 28: Mama Ahuardona in a wider context

The narrative structure of Tale 28 appears to have nothing to do with the Indo-European tradition discussed for Tales 25-27. It presents us with Mama Ahuardona in what I suppose to be a locally traditional context, with some structural debt to the Wa-Qon tradition:

| Tale 28: <i>Mama Ahuardona añashuan</i> | | | |
|---|---------|--|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | adulterous man (H) | 1 |
| | i | MA carries H to hell | 3/4 |
| | ii | arrives in hell | 7 |
| | iii | her devil children free him, told not to delay on road | 6 |
| II | iv | takes refuge in skunk's cave | 6 |
| | v | MA arrives looking for him | 3 |
| | vi | skunk puts her to flight by trick | 6/9a |
| | vii | H freed | 9d |
| | viii | skunk issues moral warning | |

This text is not very skilfully narrated, and several points remain obscure, however, the following are clear: we have here the Mama Ahuardona in her rôle as mother of the devils, but even more, her dwelling place is identified as hell and her function is the moralistic one of carrying sinners off there. In other words, there is a fuller assimilation with the lore of the devil legends, where the devil captures sinners and directs the other devils in the performance of their tasks.

In Tale 28, the victim's escape is curiously assisted by the devil children themselves, (9) and leads to Move II, whose pattern coincides with that of Move III of Tale 26, whose derivations have been discussed. The moralistic rôle adopted by the skunk is an innovation, however, and may well be a later development. As with the *ullachu* tales,

for the perpetuation of traditional narrative structures, a didactic note is added to give the tale a functional purpose relevant to modern usage - once the quasi-religious functions of myths themselves have dwindled. (10) This tale also provides us with a link, at the level of structure, with another set of oral narratives commonly found in an area to the immediate south-east of Cantón Cañar: the legends of the Mama Huaca, in some of which this personage is found to fill an identical structural rôle to that of the Mama Ahuardona.

4.0 Mama Ahuardona and the Mama Huaca

The figure of the Mama Huaca has already been mentioned in regard to her possible associations in popular lore with *urcu mama* (see sub-section (a)). Legends concerning her have been collected in Pindilig, Province of Cañar, (11) and in Paute, Guachapala, Gualaceo and Chordeleg, Province of Azuay. (12) The variant versions collected by Vintimilla contain a wide range of associations, all linked with this one personage: Version I follows A-T327A with little variation but for a few transformations at the level of content, the most notable, of course, being the introduction of the Mama Huaca into the rôle filled elsewhere by witch or Mama Ahuardona. Version II describes the capture of a sinful man by the Mama Huaca, who carries him to her hillside abode (not specifically termed hell). Eventually he escapes and seeks refuge with a skunk who performs the usual trick when the villain comes in pursuit. Here the Mama Huaca, as I have said, fills the 'slot' corresponding to Mama Ahuardona in a tale which is clearly a variant of my Tale 28. Vintimilla's Version III is less familiar in the context of the Mama Ahuardona tales, but has features which recall the lore surrounding the *urcu mama*: a man out in search of Mama Huaca's beautiful daughter is captured by the old woman and forced to live in

her cave for one year. She has gold guarded by large dogs (cf. sub-section (a)); eventually he escapes with some of the gold and returns home a rich man.

According to one of Landívar's versions, the Mama Huaca is a female who inhabits a cave, possesses golden cobs of corn and feeds on new-born puppies:

"cuando se acercan los 'cristianos' desaparece, si estos le llevan perros tiernos y le dejan en la entrada de la cueva, la Huaca les deja granos de oro,"
(op.cit.113)

This is strongly reminiscent of the behaviour of the *urcu mama* figure, and encourages me to reconsider Mama Ahuardona, to whom Mama Huaca is closely related, in the light of the evidence regarding the former practice of infant sacrifice which was discussed in sub-section (a). In connection with GS/CA/14, I noted how in that variant, the Mama Ahuardona fattened her victims on the flesh of unbaptized children, a motif which clearly derives from an association between her, the Mama Huaca, and the *urcu mama*, in the complex of beliefs. My contention is, therefore, that associations between the theme dealt with in A-T327A and certain aspects of the belief system of the Cañar region were responsible for the appeal of the former, and its subsequent incorporation into the latter. Here indeed may be the already existing structures which encouraged certain borrowings whose own structures were compatible; here is support for the theories of Dundes, Hymes, and the Marandas, referred to in Chapter 2, with which I agree. Certainly, the Pindilig version of A-T327A recorded by Muñoz-Bernand where the old woman figure is actually named *urcu mama* further backs up my contention (op.cit.6).

Another of Landívar's versions is a variant of Vintimilla's Version II described above, and contains in addition the detail whereby the skunk asks the sinful man to collect him some insect

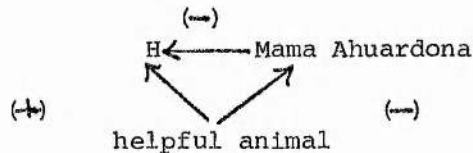
larva in return for his protection; this same motif is to be found in Tale 26 (Episode xviii). The data available to us concerning the Mama Huaca, therefore, shows that her rôle in oral narrative in the Cañar/Azuay regions corresponds very closely to that of the Mama Ahuardona in the present texts. The only attribute that does not appear to correspond to both traditions is that of the 'guardian of treasure', which is found in several of the versions of the Mama Huaca legend, but not in connection with Mama Ahuardona, in my collection at least. I maintain however that to all intents and purposes the two characters fill the same categorical and structural 'slot' in the belief systems and oral narratives of the adjacent areas, and suspect moreover that the very name 'Ahuardona' (although some informants pronounced it 'Ahuadona') derives from the Spanish '*guardar*', suggesting that she is potentially also the guardian of treasure like her counterpart the Mama Huaca, even if this attribute does not feature in my present data. (13)

5.0 Concluding remarks

The above analysis should have shown that these texts constitute something of a unique case in the collection for the way in which they combine a well-known Indo-European tale type with already existing, localized narrative traditions. Mama Ahuardona is a feature of the local belief system with many categorical associations beyond those with which the functions of the European witch figure coincides. Certain oicotypical forms of A-T327A have evolved in Cañar which take that fact into account. Moreover, we may find tales of the Mama Ahuardona which are quite independent of outside influence. The formation of oicotypes of A-T327A has had far-reaching effects upon narrative traditions in this area. By being able to combine with local forms, the originally borrowed structure has set down roots and is well

on the way to becoming 'Andeanized'. Tale 12: "*Diablo apashca huarmica*" (sub-section (b)), is an example of this process: the initial situation there is identical to that of A-T327A/Tales 25&26 - a stepmother who cannot abide her husband's children treats them cruelly. However, this time it is the stepmother who deserts her home, and is lured away by the devil to languish in hell for her sins.

In concluding, I wish to point out two further levels at which these tales could be examined, which would give them a firmer place still in the system of Cañar oral narrative as a whole. Firstly, the functions that define the tales in this section can be found here too - these tales have much that connects them to the legend pattern, as well as what they owe to folktale tradition. Then they describe a set of conflicts between hero and non-human agent, just as do all the texts of the section too. The lost children, or sinful man, are set up in opposition to the Mama Ahuardona as a result of a disruption of harmony at the outset of the tale: the intrusion of stepmother or the committing of adultery being the respective causes of this. The opposition (H : Mama Ahuardona) is then mediated by a third party, either *gallo mishicu* or skunk, and the initial opposition is resolved, harmony is restored. This system of relationships could be formalized as follows:



And we are reminded of the triads representing positive and negative relationships between human and non-human agent that may be extracted recurrently from within the structure of these Section A tales.

To remind ourselves of this level of interpretation for the tales at hand is necessary if we are to understand the reasons for the cate-

gorical associations that account for fusion and confusion between Mama Ahuardona/Mama Huaca/*urcu mama*/devil, and the overlapping that occurs between these tales and those of Chificha, Achiquee, etc. from other parts of the Andes. These terms are all variables, in the final analysis, that may be seen to belong to a constant structural framework: one which describes the struggles between such perennial oppositions as nature : culture / young : old / this world : other world, and a framework upon which local variants of narratives that express this struggle are worked out.

FOOTNOTES

(1) He has discussed the theory of this point at length (1974:81-82), and has shown how it might work in practice in application to Lithuanian folktales, (1962a) and African folktales. (1971) He does stress, however, that oicotypical features of structure are likely to stretch across a wider area, and even cross-culturally, than features of content which may be limited to a narrow geographical area (1974:82).

(2) See Opie and Opie for an early published version of the A-T type, containing the 'dead branch' motif (1974:241).

(3) It is a localized attribute of the devil to the extent that it is also found in other tale types: viz. Tale 33: '*Niño Jesusmanta*', where the devils smell Christ's whereabouts.

(4) Ortiz Rescanière (1973:39-44), recopied from Pedro Villar Córdova (1933).

(5) Ortiz Rescanière (op.cit.184-185); see also Argüedas and Izquierdo Ríos (1970:120-123), reproduced in Ortiz Rescanière (op.cit.51).

(6) 'Delicing' is a common motif in Andean narrative, performing one or other of the following functions: a) it leads to the discovery by hero of non-human agent's true identity eg. JC/IM/6; b) it offers a chance for the non-human agent to abduct human victim, eg. LS/CH/6, in which the condor disguised as a young man uses this ploy to bring his victim to his side; c) it offers a chance for the hero to escape, eg. Tale 27.

(7) My grounds for classing this text as a 'Mama Ahuardona' tale lie a) in its theme; b) in its structure; c) in my interpretation of what appears to be a mistranscription in the text. The untranslatable line: "*Chaica mana avaradona cashca nin, cristianota micuj*" should, I think, be rewritten as: *Chaica Mama Ahuardona cashca nin, cristianota micuj*", which would then translate as: "That was the Mama Ahuardona who eats people" (GS/CA/14:75).

(8) It may be argued that these are of European derivation and, to some extent, they probably are; however, the fact that they have sufficient life in their present environment to influence other areas of its oral traditions warrants their recognition as integrated members of the local folk culture.

(9) Would it be too far-fetched to suggest this is structurally comparable to the sequence in Tales 20 & 21 where it is the mother of the *ullachu* who assists and warns the heroine to escape?

(10) Propp suggests such an historical relationship between myths and tales (1968:106), which is partially agreed with by Lévi-Strauss (1960:133).

(11) Muñoz-Bernand (n.d.)

(12) Vintimilla (1968), also reproduced by Guevara (1972:276-278), Landfvar (1971).

(13) This etymological connection was suggested by Muñoz-Bernand's reference to: "*huacas, guardonas, urcutaitas, etc.*", as if they belonged to a common realm of associations, and she has confirmed that there is popular confusion between them (1978, personal communication).

Section A sub-section (i): Miscellaneous

TextsTale 29: Urpicunamanta

Shug pasajero tiyana nin. Shug pasajero ca ricuna nin, ima shuti, cargahuan ricushpaca. Pasajero ca ricuna nin ricuna nin ricuna nin. Tutayagpica maicha sacha uquitullaman yaicuna nin chaipi sueñungapa. Chai pasajeritoca chaipica ña carga uraicuchina nin, chai cuchitollapi tiyarina nin. Chaimantaca urpicunaca juin manada enterito shamuna nin. Manada enterito shamushpaca, ima shuti, ishcai pasajeritoca tiyacuna nin chai sacha siquitoca chaipi sueñungapa. Urpicuna manada entero shamushpaca nina nin: - Ñucanchi cai presidentemi huañucun. ¿Cai presidentepaca imashi alli canga? - nina nin.

Chaipi chai presidente huañucugpica shug nina nin, chai mamacha cana carca, chai mama urpica nina nin: - Paya novelera upalla cai - nina nin. Chaimanta chai: - Upalla cai - nishca nin -, novelera upalla cai, ñucanchita japig shamunga - nigpica chai pasajeritocunaca uyashpaca mai umata alsashpacha ricuna carcari. Chaica chai tutayagpica allinlla huichai llugshishpa japingapa huichaicushca nin. Chai novelerata japishca nin urpitaca. - Mana, ñaña novelera, mana. Ñaña upalla cai - nishpa, nishpami maitami rina nin chai novelerata japishca nin. Chaitaca urpica nishca nin: - Ñucanchi umia, ñucanchi piquia, ñucanchi alias, ñucanchi chupia, ñucanchi pichia, quinrai rumipi putashca chai sumomi alli canga, chaihuan jataringa - nina nin.

Chai ruhuashca nin chai pasajero ca huañucugpi risheca nin yaicungapa: - ¿Ima tucungui cainallamantachu, cunanllamantachu? ¿Ima tucungui? ¿Ima sentingui? - nina nin. Chaipica - Ñuca jambishachu, ¿mashnatata pagash ningui? Ñuca jambisha - nina nin. Shinash quinrai rumipi cutash sumota cushpa chaitaca. Jambina nin chai presidentetaca. Chaimi nishca preciota pagashca nin. ¿Mashnatata? Milta, juin. Chaita mana alli yachani mashnatata pagan carca chaihuan. Juin wlashpa nin, juin uyansashpa, juin pasashcacunami chaica. Chaimi tucurin.

The traveller and the doves

There was once a traveller travelling along with his load. When night came down he took cover in a hut of sticks there. There he put down his load and sat down in the corner. Then a whole flock of doves came along. There were two travellers there taking rest beneath the trees when the flock came by. As they arrived, the doves spoke: "Our president is dying, what would be a good treatment for him?"

Then one of the doves, it must have been the mother bird, spoke: "Be quiet, you old gossip. They will come and catch us unless you're quiet," and as she spoke those travellers looked up and saw them there indeed. Then when it was dark one of them quietly came out of his resting place and climbed the tree in order to catch the bird. He caught the dove that had been gossiping. The bird had been warned to be quiet and now it was caught. Then the dove spoke: "Take our head, our beak, our wings, our tail, our breast and grind it all together on a flat stone. That juice will do him good, with that he'll get better again."

So doing that, the traveller went to where the dying man was and asked him: "How have you been since yesterday? What's the matter with you? What do you feel? I shall heal you, how much will you pay?" And so, grinding the ingredients on a flat stone, he made the juice and administered it. He cured that president. Then he paid the price. How much might it be? A thousand *sucres*, a lot. I don't really know how much he might have been paid. Then they drank and ate in celebration. There it ends.

Informant: PTA, 29th August, 1976

- N451.1 Secrets of animals accidentally overheard from tree
hiding place
- N452 Secret remedy overheard in conversation of animals
- B512 Medicine shown by animal
- F1045 Night spent in tree
- B235 Secrets discussed in animal meeting
- H963 Tasks performed by means of secrets overheard from tree
- Q94 Reward for cure
- Q111 Riches as reward

Tale 30: Pueblo nuevomanta

Shug punzha shug animalitocunaca tandanacushoa nirca shug parteman, Shug punzha nishca nin allquito ña juin mayoryash mana pudishca nin ladranata. Chaipica nishca nin cai amoca: - Cai allcuca ima mana valinchu; mana ladranata yachan ni ima, solo sirishpa pasan, Sipish shitallani.

Bueno allquitoca entendin manchu, pero cai animalitoca solo shimi llugshina mana pudin. Bueno sentimentohuan saquirin animalitoca. Chai mismo punshallata cutin shug huasipi nishca nin cai mishica mana japi pudinchu ucuchacunata. Paipa ñumpallatatami pasacun animalcunaca, pero mana japin. Claro mishi ña mayoryashpaca ñahui mana ricush, chai-raicumi mana japi pudin.

Cutin shug amoca nishca nin: - Cai burro mana apri valinchu. De adredemi caipi charinchi, ni ima favorta mana ruhuanchu, mana aparti pudin, ni ima.

Cai animalitocuna tanto tiempo servido ña mayoryashca, mana pudishca llashag carga aparinata. Cutin shug tutamantaca-nishca nin, mismo tutamanta, chai rato, chai semanallata shug amoca nishca nin: - Cai galloca mana utcata cantan ni huallpacunata mana empollan. Shinaca shamucunmi familiacuna nuevo nacionmanta, cunan cai gallotaca entoncesca chaipimi ashun pelashun. Jacu ricushun cocinera - nishca nin, Gallinohuan chayashca nin: - Cai gallotami pelangui - nishca nin. Paita ricuchishca nin gallitotaca. Bueno chaica ña sentimentohuan galloca saquirishca. Tucupish rucuyagpi ñucanchitaca desprecian nishca nin.

Entonces ña allquitoca madrugashpa rishca ña, utcata amara paita sipigpi. Tutamanta sipina canga nigpica madrugadota rishca ña shug ñampi siricushca. Ishcai ñampi: chai ñanca raquirig cashca, shugca shug ladoman, shugca shug ladoman, Chaipi tiyashca shug sachu yura. Chaipimi allquitoca siricushca, Chaipi siricugpica cungailla mishi chayan: - ¿Imatata ruhuash can caipi cangui? - Hombre, ñucataca cashnami: - ñuca joven cashpaca animalcunata cuidarcani, huasita cuidarcani, chagracunata cuidarcacani, cunancoa

mana pudinichu jatarinata. Amoca ninmi cunanca sipish shitanami nishpa nin. Cai allcuca ima favorta mana ruhuanchu nishpa nin. Chairaicumi shamurcani caiman. Ñuca ricunimi caru llagtaman. Rinimi pueblo nuevoman.

Mishica nin: - Ñucatapish pushagri, ñucapish rigrinillatami. Ñucatapish shinallatami nin. Ñuca ñahui mana ricugpi ucuchacunaca ñumpata huashata pasan, chaitaca mana japin nishpami, ñucataca huañuchinata nishpami nin, chairaicumi shamuni. Chaimanta cunanca ña ishcai tucuncuna.

Cutin qu'ipaca ña burro chayamun. Burro nishca nin: - Ahora compañeros imata ruhuash cancuna caipi tiyacunguichi?

Tucun tuculla pasacushca nin, manara gloriagpi, tuta tuta. Entonces chaipi nishca nin: - Ñucanchi cashmami huasipi ñucanchita mana ricug pudigpi, llugshish shamurcanchi, huañuchina nigpi.

Burroca nishca nin: - Ñucatapish sipish shitasha ninmi. Allcucunaman carangapa vaqueropa allcucuna shamugrin, huagracunahuan, cai semana.

Caitaca sipish shitana ñucataca allcucunaman carana nishpami nin. Chairaicumi shamuni llugshishpa. Pueblo nuevoman ñucapish ricuni. - Ñucanchipish ricunchillatami.

Ña quimsa tucun ña.

Entonces gallo chayamun nin. Gallo pasacushca nin, ima shinachari shug sacha yurapi huagtarishpa alas 'patag' nirimi nin. Chaimanta nin:

- ¿Pita pasacunguichi?

- Ñuca,

- ¿Maimanta ricungui?

- Ñuca ricunimi pueblo nuevoman. Chaipishi causai tiyan ñucanchi yuyacunananca. Chaimanmi ricuni. Chaipi causangapa. Ñucaca mana cantai pudini, mana utcata jatarinata pudini. Ña jovenpi cashpaca utcata cantacurcani la una de la mañanata. Cunanca mana pudinichu. Ña gloriamugtami cantani. Chaimanta cunanca despedishpa cashan ninmi cocinerman rircami ricuchingapa amoca cai gallotaca. Pueblo nuevomantami shamucun shug visitantes familias. Cunanca chaiman chaipami preparashun caitaca preparangui, cai gallotami huañuchingui, nishpami nirca. Cunanca ñucaca shitag shamunimi de capricho, cai tuqui tiempo sirvishecata paicuna mana agradesishpa, chaíta ruhuashca nin. Ni cocinera paipa mangapi mana ricunga ni tampoco ni amo paipa platopi mana ricungachu ñucataca. Chaimantami shamuni shitashpa. Caprichari shamuni. Cunan ñucanchi tucui ricunchi jacuchi ñucapish ricunimi.

Entonces ña tucui tandanacushpa rincuna nin. Ña mishi rin, burro rin, gallo rin, allquito rin. Tucui tandanacush rincuna. Jatun ñanta rishcacuna. Tucui punzha purishcacuna. Shug montaña ricurishca, ña chishi tutayan. Mishica ratotaca burro lomopi rin. Ratotaca purishpa rin. Gallitoca shinallata chaquillahuan purishpa. Burrocari mana tanto shaycushcachu canga. Ashuncari mishi, allcuca mana tanto shaycushcachu canga. Gallomi ashun shaycushca canga.

Bueno, ña tutayan. Tutayagpica chai montañapica caillapi pacarishun nishpashi ninacushca. Cai purapica imashinata rishun? Ñanta mana rigsinchi, imaitami rina? Entonces nishca nin caillapi pacarishun. Tuculla tandanacush arrimarishcacuna. Shug ramada uquito ricurishca nin, chaipi shug chuglla tucushca. Chaipi arrimarishcacuna. Galloca como altopi sueñun nishca nin, sachata jahuayashpa. Shug alto sacha

tiyashca nin shug liocali shina recto. Chaipi sueñucushca paica. Tuta rigcharishpa cantana cercapi ricunata avansashca luz achigacugta. Uraicushca nishca compañerocunaman huillangapa: - Compañeros, ñami huasiman cerca cashcanchi, shug huasi posada tiyanmi. Jacu ricushun. Chaipi shug posadata quiza cunga. Quizas imallata ñucanchimampish ima caranga. Cashna tucui punzha cainanchi, cashna tucui punzha en ayunaspi canchi. Jacu mañashun imallata.

Entonces chaimanta puri callarishcacunashi tucui tandanacush. Igualitoca sacha yuraman huichacushpa. Chapashpa, chapashpa, chapashpa rishca chashna: ña cercacuna, ña cercacuna, ñami caillapi. Cutin chapangapa rishca nin: cutin ñami caillapi. Ña shinacush chayancuna chai huasipi. Huasica achigyacushca, nina achigyacushca nin, luz. Entonces paicunaca chaipi chai huasipica chayan. Entonces paicunaca banda musicota tucui callarincuna. Galloca primerashca, primer cantan. Burroca bajopi cantan. Ña tocancuna, banda entero tocancuna pungu patiopi. Patiopi tocagpica, shuhuag huasi cashca chai huasica. Dueñocunami c'atimun ñucanchi shuhuashca apamusheata nishpaca tucui susto llugshirishcacuna maipi ima tucungapa, sacha mai tucui miticush.

Paicuna tucui tocancuna shug banda. Ña tucui tocan entonces yaicushca-cuna ucupi ricungapa luz achigyacugpica. Ucupica cashca nin micuna maravillasta ruhuash charicushcacuna nin shuhuagcunaca. Huagra lluchushca, huagra yanushca chaicunahuan cashca nin, motecuna timbucushca nin, tucui shug bodapi cuenta. Paicunapa uyansa. Entonces paicuna chayan, ucuman yaicun, alli micuncuna. Allquitoca pungupi como sirin, pungu corredorpi, alarpi, sueñucushca. Mishica paipa tullpapi obligación sirina sueñuna, tullpa jahuapi cashca. Sueñucushca nin. Burroca rishca canzha patioman, chai pambaman cahipi siricushca nin, shaycushca. Entonces ña chashna tucui animalitocuna cada uno puestopi sueñuna. Cada uno chaipi sueñucushca.

Chaimantaca tuta unai tuta, chunllayshpa, pi mana uyarina, mana rigchagpi, entonces shamucushca shug shuhuagca: - Ricugrishami sí. Tucica manchasca ama richichu - nishpa. Pero shugca coraje rishca ricugrinata: - Cunan rishami huañuna causana rigrinimi ricungapa, Cai mundo genteca tocashpaca maitacha rincuna chunllayanmi. Apiqui ñami cutirish canga - nishpa pensashca, Cuando imata rutiringa! Sueñucushcacuna!

Entonces ña chayashpaca ninata japichicushca nin p'ucushpa. Ninaca como ña huañushcashca nin. Pero ña siempre nina japichishca puestopi yantacunaca jaganicushca nin. Lusta japichingapa p'ucucushca nin, P'ucucugpica entonces mishica rigcharishca. Mishica rigcharishcahuanca mancharishpa 'pis' nigpica umata alsaricugrigpica, fuera ñahui! Fuera ñahui! Chaimantaca susto canshaman llugshish callpagrishca nin. Canzha pungupica allcuca 'jan jan' cutin. Polvush cachana nin. Cutin burro mancharig tucush ahugpi patiopi imachari siricushca nin. Callpash jatarin burro patadas nin chaipi singuchish cachana nin chaica.

Chaimantaca fuera sacha ucu maita puricun. Ima shina cutinata mana acertashca cutishpa rishca nin cai shugcunaman huillangapa, compañerocunaman: - Chashnami ruhan, shug brujami tiyacushca, nina patapi. Chaimi espadahuan ñucata riqui ñahuita polvush cachan. Canzhapi shug guardian chaipi cashca. Ñucataca lanzacunahuan juinmi riqui pasachish cachan, yahuar chapun, trastecuna lliquin. Cutin chaipi shug machashca siricushca chugpi patiopi ñucataca puntai jaitazo cada jaitazo ura pambata singuchish cachan, solo singushpallami atimmi. Chailla rishca nin, maipi ima tucungapa rin nin, Paicuna saquirin dueño chai huasihan, Shuhuagcunaca maipi ima tucun!

The new land

There was once a farmer who one day remarked that the farm-dog was getting old and could no longer bark: "This dog is useless, it can't even bark. It just spends its time lying down," he said, "I'm going to strangle it."

Now the animal couldn't speak but he could understand his master's words. And he was very upset by what he heard. Now that very same day, in another house, the master remarked that the cat could no longer catch mice: "The animals run right in front of her nose but she doesn't catch them," he said.

For of course the cat was getting old and her eyes were weak; that was why she couldn't catch mice.

Then another farmer was heard to say: "This donkey can't carry loads. We're keeping him here for no reason; he's good for no task at all." The poor animal had served for many years; now he was growing old and couldn't carry heavy loads any more. Then that same morning another master commented: "This rooster doesn't crow early. Neither does it fertilize the hens anymore. Now, I have some relatives coming to visit me from the new land, so let's skin the old bird for them to eat. Let's go and see the cook," he said.

And he came with the rooster and showed it to the cook saying: "Skin this bird."

Well the cockerel was very upset: "Everyone despises us when we get old," he said to himself.

The next day the little dog got up before dawn, before he was due to be strangled, and went out onto the road to lie down. It was a place where the road forked, one path going one way and the other another. Nearby there was a low bush, and the dog lay down beneath it. As he was lying there, the cat came along unknown to her master: "What are you doing here?" she asked.

"It's like this," the dog replied, "when I was young I looked after the other animals, the house and the fields. Now I can't get up. My master wants to strangle me, saying that I'm no good any more. So I came here. I'm going to a far-off country, to the new land."

And the cat said: "Take me with you, I'm going along too. I'm in the same situation. My sight is failing me and the mice run in front of me and behind me. My master wants to kill me because I can't catch them any more; that's why I've come."

So now there were two of them.

Then a little later, the donkey arrived and said: "Well my friends, what are you doing here?"

He made quite a noise as he came past. It was still night as they all gathered there. The others said: "They don't like us at home and wanted to kill us, so we came away."

And the donkey said: "They wanted to strangle me too. This week the cowmen are coming with the bulls, and they were going to feed me to their dogs. So that's why I came away. I'm going to the new land."

"Why, so are we," said the others.

And now they were three.

Then along came the rooster. It was passing by and landed in the bush, somehow making a great beating noise with its wings, "Who goes there?" cried the other animals.

"It's me," replied the rooster.

"Where are you going?"

"I'm going to live in the new land, because I can't get up early and crow any longer. When I was young I used to crow at one o'clock in the morning. But now I can't. Now I don't crow until daybreak. So the master wanted to get rid of me. He went to show me to his cook. He ordered him to kill and prepare me for some relatives who are coming from the new land to visit. But I was very angry and got out of there. This is how those people repay me for all the time I have served them. But I'll neither be seen in the cook's pot nor on my master's plate. I've come away very angry."

Then he added: "So now let's all go, I'm coming too."

So they all went along together: the cat, the donkey, the rooster and the dog. They went together along the highway. They walked all day and then at nightfall they came to a mountainside. Sometimes the cat rode on the donkey's back, and sometimes she walked. The rooster went on foot. The donkey and the dog were not so tired; but rather the cat and the cockerel grew weary.

Well, night fell and they decided among themselves to spend the night on the mountainside. For how could they walk through that darkness when they didn't know which way the road lay? So they snuggled up together in a little makeshift house of sticks that they found, and there they prepared to sleep. As the cockerel sleeps high up, he climbed to the top of a tall tree, as tall as a eucalyptus, and there he slept. He awoke in the night, when it was nearly time for him to start crowing, and managed to make out a light burning in the distance. So he came down from the tree to tell his friends: "Friends, we are near a house! There's a house and shelter over there. Let's go. Perhaps they will give us a roof. Perhaps they will give us something to eat. For we haven't eaten anything all day. Let's go and ask for something."

So they set off walking together. The rooster would fly to the tree tops to spy out the way: "We're nearly there, we're nearly there," he would cry as he watched out, "it's right here, it's right here." And in this way they arrived at the house where the light was shining. When they got to the house they began to make noises like a band of musicians. First the cock began to crow, then the donkey brayed in a deep bass voice, then all of them struck up different notes in the yard outside. Now, this house was a thieves' den, and when the thieves heard the noise, they thought the rightful owners had followed them to take back all the things they had stolen. So in a great fright, they rushed from the house and ran off to hide somewhere in the woods.

Then the whole band of musicians went into the house where the light was still shining. Inside the thieves had prepared the most wonderful meal. It was just like a party: a cow had been skinned and roasted, and there was a pot of boiled maize, all for them to eat their fill. So when the animals arrived and went inside they had a great meal. Then, as the dog liked to sleep in the doorway, he went outside to lie in the corridor. The cat always slept on the flat stone by the fireplace, so she lay down there and went to sleep. Then the donkey went outside to the yard and lay down wearily on the ground. And so each of the animals took up his favourite position and fell asleep.

Then in the middle of the night when all was quiet and no-one would wake up and hear him, one of the thieves came to the house. The other thieves had been too frightened and did not want to go, but this one was brave and went to have a look saying: "Whether I live or die, I shall go and take a look. All is quiet, those people that were playing music must be far away by now."

But they hadn't gone away at all - they were all asleep in the house!

Well, when the thief arrived, he tried to light the fire as it had gone out. He bent down and tried to light it by blowing on the glowing embers of the logs. And while he was blowing, the cat woke up. When she awoke she was frightened and hissed, raising her paws in the air and sticking out her claws. And when she hissed, the man who was blowing the fire looked up - and she scratched out his eyes!

In a great fright, the thief ran out into the corridor and there the dog began to bark ferociously! He sent him packing, bitten to bits! Then the donkey lying in the middle of the yard took fright and got to his feet. He kicked the thief with his hind legs and sent him rolling along the ground! So the thief took to his heels and made for the woods, running blindly to get back to his friends, hardly knowing where he was going. And he told his friends what had happened: "There was a witch on the ledge beside the hearth and she scratched my eyes out with a sword. Then in the yard there was a guard who attacked me with a spear, covering me with blood and tearing my clothes to ribbons. Then there was a drunkard lying in the middle of the yard who kicked me and sent me rolling on the ground!"

And so the thieves made off - who knows where! And the animals stayed behind to become the owners of the house!

Informant: JMD, 15th August, 1976

cf. A-T 130: The animals in night quarters (Bremen City musicians)

B212 Animal understands human speech

B296 Animals go a-journeying

N776 Light seen from tree lodging place by night leads to adventures

K1161 Animals hidden in various parts of house attack owner with their characteristic powers and kill him when he enters

J1762 Animal thought to be person

Q110 Material rewards

Tale 31: Runahuan ch'alli huarmiحيان

Rini shug cuentitota parlangapa. Numpa tiempo shug solterahuan solterohuan shug contrato ruhuashcacuna hasta la muerte. Ima horas paicuna falleceris, igual paicuna sepulturapi cangacama. Shug tiempo shug soltera tiyana nin. Shug joven purina nin cazi enamorashpa. Chai solterataca nina nin: - Bueno, ñuca casaranimi, matriomoniota armagrini, compromisota ruhuagrini. Ñuca ima horas huañuni, can ima horas huañungui, chaipi igualito enterrarishpa chaipi causangapa ima horas ñuca causaringacama.

Chaimanta purina nin, purina nin, ña matrimonio cumplina nin. Matrimoniota cumplishpaca ña puricuna nin huata pichea quilla cazamento. Entonces huañuna nin huarmi. Ña sepulturata ruhuachina nin, alli ancho, alli doblito ña, respiración llugshinata. Entonces ña huarmica huañushca, paica vivo. Entonces sepulturapi ña pambarina nin como compromiso ruhuashcaca. Chaimanta causana nin ishcai chunga chuscu huatata ña

sepulturapi igual.

Chaipi causashpaca ña shug martes punshaca yaicuna nin shug chuspi. Ima sisa asusinahuan captashca. Chai yaicugpi chuspita huañuchina nin. Tutaca entonces ñucanchi apunchi Jesu Cristoca revelana nin: - ¡Imapata chuspita huañuchircangui? Mana chuspichu carca, ñucami carcani. Cai mundo huata can chashna sufringui compromiso ruhuashca. Cunan cumplishcangui, entonces cunanca de lo mismo yaicusha. Chai sisataca quimsa cutin canca huarmipa jahuapica cruz ruhuash pasangui. Huarmica entonces ña sueño cuentami rigcharinga. Camba huarmi ni ima mana tucushca, mana ismushca, ni mana chaquishca, ni ima. Sanitomi camba huarmica - nishpa ña ñucanchi apunchi Jesu Cristoca muscuchina nin, tuta revelana nin.

Entonces cayandi, miércoles doce horastaca, yaicuna nin chai chuspica cutin ña sisallamanta. Chaipi sisata japishpa chuspitaca japishpa, muchashpa, chai sisahuanca huarmipa jahuapica quimsa cruzta ruhuana nin. Huarmica ña sueño manta cuenta 'aij' nishpa samaita aisashpa ña jatarina nin. Jatarishpaca nina nin: - Cusita igual shina cashcangui.

Chaimanta nina nin: - Ari. Cainalla shina sueño canchicari.

- ¡Caipichu cashcanchi? - nina nin.

Cusaca respondina nin: - Imata cainalla canguiari, ishcai chungu chuscu huatami caipi cana igual - nina nin.

Chaimanta ña: - ¡Ima shinata llugshinchi? ¡Maitata llugshinchi? - nina nin.

Chaipi ña panteon, como panteonpica ña ima shina enterracush cana nin, chai jahua puricush c'ayana nin. Chai respiracion manta c'ayagpica nina nin: - Caita pascash cui. Llugshisha ninchi ñucanhuica - nishpa. Entonces panteon urai shamushpa llugchina nin.

Chaimanta shamuna nin. Huasiman shamuna nin shamuna nin. Maicha lamar ladota shamushpaca entonces ña cusa malanoche casi maltrato cana. Sueñucuna nin. Shug marineru shamushpaca chai huarmita inquitana nin. Inquitashpaca ña barcopi churashpa aparina nin. Pai yuyaita japigpica ña sueño manta rigcharigpica entonces tronco sauna sueñoushca nin. Huarmica quién sabe ima horasmí rirca maita chai marinerohuana, Pero chai sisita bolicushca cana nin.

Chaimanta ña tuta ña maipichari sueño japigpica tamu huashitallapi sueño nina. Pero semejante lamar yacu ladopi. Chaipi tuta revelana nin: - Ari. Canca ima ruhuashpata huarmita cacharish shitangui?

Camba huarmica ña marinerohuan, shughuan, rinmi.

- ¡Ima shinata pasasha? - nina nin -, ¡ima shinata pasasha cai mundo laya lamar yacuman shug ladomanca?

Chai nina nin: - Ama ima ruhuachihu. Quimsa cruzta lamarpi ima cruz ruhuash shitai. Chaimanta sisitapi tiyari. Sisaca pasangallami shug ladomanca - nina nin.

Pasana nin ña shug ladomanca. Pasash ña shayacuna nin. Chai rey huañushca cana nin. Ña pichoa chunga huata huañushca cana nin reycu. Ña pi mana purina nin chai rey causana pueblo palaciopi. Pi ni maipi ni gente ni chuspi, mana purina nin. Alli guardiasheca cana nin.

Paica ricuna nin ña chugpi calleta ña preso japina nin. Chaipi preso japigpica nina nin: - Ari. Ñuca cashna cashna shina shinami carcani. Compromiso ruhuashpa tal tanto huatatami ñucaca caipi cashpami ñuca shamucuni huarmi changachish marinerohuan rishca - nish.

Entonces: - Canca huañugta causachigmi cashcangui. Jacu, reycu cincuenta años huañushcami. Chaita causachingui - nish aparina nin alli castigash alli azotishpa aparina nin.

Chaipi chayashpaca entonces apunchi Jesu Cristoman oracionta ruhuashpa cutin quimsa cruz ruhuashpaca entonces reyca jatarina nin. Casi respiracionta japishpa jatarina nin: - Aij, imaipichá cani? Imachá tucurcani? - nish jatarina nin reyca.

(at this point the narrative is very confused, but the gist is that the king then offers the herohis daughter as reward)

Entonces chashna nishpaca ña rina nin rina nin. Ña carana nin mejores alimentos ña, mejores vestuaris churachina nin. Chai nina nin: - Mana ñuca ningún ima mana casarasha nini. Ni ima mana ima casha ninichu. Ñucaca único casha ninimi, capitán marineru churachin. Ñuca huarmita ima horas shamungacama entonces ñuca chaipi ricungapa - nina nin.

Chaipi entonces ña shina batallion enterahuan cachana nin chai marineru capitán maipimi arrimarin boletocunata llugchin chaiman. Arrimarigpica entonces chai capitán mandontaca ña llugshish shitashpa chaipi cana nin ña pichca huata. Pichca huatapi cutina nin huarmita ña. Ña alairi shamuna nin. Ña barcopica shamuna nin shamuna nin chayamuna nin. Chayamushpa entonces paica shaycuna nin. Ña mandón sillitapi tiyacuna nin. Sillitapi tiyacushpaca ña chai batallionta nina nin: - Chaimi ñuca huarmita shamun. Chaipi en seguidita japinguichi. Pedazo ruhuashpa nina churangapa - nina nin.

Ña batallionca rishpa ña japina nin huarmitaca nin, capitanta lo mismo. Capitanca como paillatami ordenacuna nishpaca ña shamuna nin paipa banquitaman. Paipa sillaman tiyaringapa. Ña shug tiyacugpica entonces ña llugshina nin. Guardiashca cana nin batallion entero soldadocunahuan. Ña huarmita japig shamushpa japig shamushpaca, mismo palacio ñumpaman apag shamushpa, rupachina nin. Chaillami ñuca cuentoca señorita, agradecinimi.

A faithful husband and a faithless wife

I am going to tell a story of the old days about two young people who were married until death. They made an agreement that when one of them died the other should live along with his partner in the grave. A young girl and a young man fell in love and he asked her to marry him with this condition: "When I die, or when you die, we must be buried together and there we shall live in the grave until the dead one comes back to life."

And so they were married and lived together happily for a year and five months. Then the wife died. As his wife was dead and he remained living, the man kept to the arrangement they had made. He ordered a specially wide grave to be dug, with a shaft for air, and there they were buried together. There they lived together in the grave for four and twenty years!

One day, a Tuesday, as they were there, a fly flew out of a lily-flower where it had perhaps been trapped, and entered the grave. Seeing the fly come into the grave, the man killed it. That night, however, our Lord Jesus Christ appeared before him and asked: "Why did you kill that fly? For it was not a fly, it was I. You have been suffering all these years for the contract you made. Now you have fulfilled that contract, so I shall come to you again in the grave. Take the lily-flower and make the sign of the cross three times over your wife's body. She will then wake up as if from a long sleep. Nothing will have happened to her; she will not be rotten or shrivelled or anything. Your wife will be alive and well."

With these words our Lord revealed himself to the man in a dream.

So the next day, Wednesday, at midday, a fly again flew out of the same flower. This time the man grasped the flower, took the fly and kissed it, and with the flower made the sign of the cross three times over his wife's body. Then his wife awoke as if from a dream. Gasping to catch her breath she sat up. "My husband, you have been here with me," she said.

"Yes," he replied, "just yesterday we were both asleep here."

"You mean we have been here all the time?"

"You haven't just been here these few days past," said her husband, "we've been here together for twenty-four years."

Then they began to wonder how they would get out of the grave, for there they were buried in the cemetery. They heard people walking overhead and called out to them through the air shaft: "Open up here! We want to get out!"

And so some people dug down into the grave and helped them out,

After that they came home to their house somewhere on the seashore. There the husband fell asleep but slept very badly. While he was sleeping, a sailor came and pestered his wife and took her away with him in a boat. Suddenly the man came to his senses and awoke to find he had been sleeping with his head on a log. Who knows at what hour of the night his wife must have stolen away with the sailor?

But the husband still had the flower in his pocket. That night he was wandering somewhere on the seashore when sleep came over him and he lay down behind a clump of grass. As he lay, Our Lord appeared to him again and said: "Why have you let your wife go? Your wife has gone away with another man, with a sailor."

And the man asked: "How am I to follow her across that great ocean?" The vision replied: "Do nothing. Just make three signs of the cross over the water, then sit down in the flower. The flower will simply carry you over to the other side."

And so he passed over to the other side of the ocean. He stood up and looked around him. In that land the king had died. He had lain dead now for fifty years and no-one was allowed to enter the palace; not a soul, not even a fly could enter there, it was so well guarded. Well, as the man was walking down the street he was taken prisoner. At this, he began to explain his story: that he had followed an agreement with his wife and had spent so many years in the grave with her. Then she had come back to life, but now he had lost her to a sailor. Hearing his account, the people said: "So you know how to bring the dead back to life? Well, our king has been dead for fifty years. Come on, you must restore him for us,"

And they led him off, beating and whipping him as they went.

When he arrived where the king lay, the man made a prayer to Our Lord and then made the sign of the cross three times over the body. At this the dead man arose, gasping for breath: "Ah! Where on earth am I? What on earth has happened to me?"

Then the king declared that the man must marry the princess. They gave him fine foods to eat and dressed him in the best clothes. But the man said: "I don't wish to be married to anybody. All I wish is that I may be made a sea-captain so that I may watch out over the sea for my wife's return."

And so his wish was granted.

He arranged to sail with a whole fleet of ships to the place where the other sailor was known to harbour. On his arrival he took over command of the port and waited there for five years. After five years his wife came back. He could see her clearly as she approached by boat towards the shore. As he awaited her arrival he remained seated in his chair of office. From there he directed the officers of his fleet: "There comes my wife. As soon as she lands, take her prisoner. Then cut her to pieces and burn her."

So the men advanced and captured the wife and her captain-lover. This captain, as he was used to being in charge, approached his seat of office to sit down. But there the other man was seated in his place. And he was taken under guard by all the men of the fleet. Then the wife was brought captive before the palace, and there she was burned to death. That's my story miss, thank-you.

Informant: EDC, 10th June, 1976

cf. A-T 612: The three snake leaves

- M254 Promise to be buried with wife if she dies first
- S123.2 Burial of living husband or wife with dead spouse
- E181 Means of resuscitation learned
- E162.0.1 Resuscitation after great length of time
- E165 Resuscitation of husband giving up half his remaining life
- D630.4 Deity has power of self-transformation
- D1500.1.4 Magic healing plant
- E105 Resuscitation by herbs or leaves
- N817.0.1 God as helper
- D1814.3 Advice from God
- D811 Magic object received from God
- D1766.6 Magic results from sign of the cross
- R212 Escape from grave
- D1814.2 Advice from dream
- D975 Magic flower
- Q94 Reward for cure
- K2213.5 The faithless resuscitated wife
- Q241 Adultery punished
- Q261.2 Treacherous wife punished
- Q414.0.2 Burning as punishment for adultery

Tale 32: Saponi, sueñondi, apangurandi

Shug sapo shug sueño y apangura ri callarina nin aviarishpa. Achea caruta rishpa ña shaycushcacuna nin. Shaycushpaca ima shina mana rinata pudishcacuna nin shaycush. Chai cucayuta micungapa rishecacuna nin shug llano pambaman. Chai llano pambapi cucayuta micucugpica ricurishca nin bestia tullu, tucui libre, libre, libre, cabalito tucui cashea nin, tullucuna. Cunan imata rihuash: - Caita tandachishpa allichishun - nishca nin -, bestiata rihuashun chaipi montangapa quimsa tucushun. Entonces tulluta tucui tandashcacuna nin. Bestia tulluta tandashpa, sumaimanata allichishpa, bestiata tucui formashcacuna nin. Chai bestiaca puri callarishca nin tucui quimsaca chaipi montancuna.

Chaimanta ña achca ri callarishcacuna. Achcata rigpi shug hacienda tiyashca nin. Chai hacienda punguta jatun ñan pasana cashea nin. Chai huasipica shug haciendayu dueño amo causana nin. Pero chai huarmi amaca mana pihuan asinata yachashca nin. Ni pihuan, ni pihuan mana nunca, ni cusahuan ni pihuan mana asig cashea nin. Chaimanta entonces

chai quimsacuna montashoa, tullumanta caballo ruhuashpa montashoa. Chai pungupi ricurigpica, entonces chai caballos haciendamanta cashoanga tal vez, chai caballo tulluca, entonces chai caballos haciendamanta yaicusha nishoa nin pungumanta ña. Atish yaicugrigpica paicunaca chutashoa nin, atrancan huashaman. Chutagpica, yalli chutagpi, imata tucun? Tucui desash regarin nin libreta, libre. Chaipi ruman nin tucui haciendapi. Chaipi ña chai señoraca asishoa nin. Chai asigpica: - Riqui, ¿canca imamantata asingui? - nishpa amoca p'inarishoa nin, cusaca -, cambia noviomí cashoanga chai quimsacunaca. Celai callarishoa.

Chaimanta japishpa ucupi, carcelpi quimsa ucuta pasachish, ucupi huichcash shitana nin chai sapo apangura y sueñoa japishpa. Quimsa ucuta pasachish, ucupi huichcash shitashpa tutaca yuyarinacuna nin. Paicunaca nin: - Cananca imashi tucushun? Caipi ña huichcashoa canchi. ¿Ima shinaca llugshishun caimantaca? - nin. Chaipi nin: - ¿Ima shinata llugshishun? - nin, - Bueno, ñuca, ñucaca allash c'atisha - nina nin apanguraca. Sapota: - Canca aspih c'atingui. - Ñucaca amocunataca sueñochish c'atisha - sueñoa. Chaimanta ña tuta allpata allashpa ucuta jutcui callarincuna nin, quimsa cuarto ucumanta llugshingapa. Apanguraca allashpa, sapoca aspihpa, sueñoa amocunata sueñochishpa. Chaimanta llugshincuna nin, ña quimsa cuartota tucui allash llugshishoacuna nin. Chaimanta huasiman cutimush rincuna nin. Chaimantashi cai llagtapi sueñocuna, sapo, apangura tiyan. Chaillami.

The frog, the dream and the crab

A frog, a dream, and a crab set off on a journey, bidding farewell to their homes. When they had gone a long way, they grew tired. So tired were they that they could go no further. They went down onto a flat plain to eat the food they had brought with them for the journey. As they were eating there, there appeared nearby the bones of a dead horse scattered all over the ground. "Let's collect these and put them together," they said, "let's make a horse and mount it, the three of us." So they collected up all the bones and put them together finely, forming them into the skeleton of a horse. Then the horse began to walk with the three adventurers riding on top.

They went on a long way until they came to a *hacienda*. The main road passed by the gate of that *hacienda*. The owner of the *hacienda* lived in that house, and his wife never laughed. Nobody could make her laugh: not her husband, nor anybody. So the three travellers were mounted on their horse of bones. Now the horse had maybe belonged to that *hacienda* in life. So when that gate appeared, he wanted to go through it into the *hacienda*. As it was about to go in, they pulled it back. They pulled and pulled, and what do you think happened? The whole thing collapsed to the ground! It all collapsed there in front of the *hacienda*. Then the woman laughed. When she laughed, her husband got angry: "What are you laughing for? Those three must be lovers of yours." He began to get jealous.

So then he caught the frog, the crab and the dream and imprisoned them behind three locked doors. As they were locked up there, behind the three doors, night fell and they thought: "Now what will become of us? Here we are locked up. How shall we get out of here?" "Well," said the crab, "I can dig with my claws, and you can follow

scratching with your feet," he said to the frog.

"I shall come behind when I have put the master and mistress to sleep," said the dream.

So then in the darkness they began to burrow their way through the earthen floor in order to get out from behind the three doors. The crab dug, the frog scraped, and the dream put the master and mistress to sleep. Then they came out, digging their way past the three doors. After that they came back home. That, they say, is why there are dreams, frogs and crabs in this village. That's it.

Informant: GGG, 28th October, 1976

| | |
|---------|---|
| B296 | Animals go a-journeying |
| F1025 | Objects go journeying together |
| E30 | Resuscitation by arrangement of members |
| H341 | Suitor test: making princess laugh |
| H341,3 | Princess brought to laughter by foolish actions of hero |
| Q433 | Punishment: imprisonment |
| R40 | Places of captivity |
| R210 | Escapes |
| A2162 | Origin of frog |
| A2171 | Origin of crustaceans |
| A1399,2 | Origin of dreams |

Commentary

1.0 Introduction

These tales have been placed in a sub-section apart as, whilst on grounds of their structure they have much in common with the Section A type, their content does not relate them to any of the other sub-sections. This latter is due, in some cases, to the fact that they can be identified as A-T types which have undergone little change in their new environment. I shall examine each of them in turn, placing particular emphasis on those features of their structure that could be held to account for their appeal to and introduction into the repertoire of the Cañar storyteller, and in arguing that compatibility of narrative structure can explain the adoption and adaptation of extraneous material, I shall again show the validity of the theories set out in Chapter 2 with regard to this issue.

2.0 Tale 29

| <u>Tale 29: <i>Urp'ounamanta</i></u> | | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------|---|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | traveller (H) takes refuge under tree for night | 1/2 |
| | i | doves pass by overhead | 3 |
| | ii | doves' conversation reaches ears of H | 4 |
| | iii | H gains information from conversation (remedy) | 8 |
| II | iv | H travels to another town | 2 |
| | v | H revives president with remedy | 8 |
| | vi | H gains reward | 9c |

The pattern of this text, as was seen, has much in common with the Group (ii) devil legends. There is an Aarne-Thompson type (A-T613) that corresponds to it closely, and the temptation is to suggest that it is a straightforward borrowing. However, the pattern whereby a hero overhears a conversation between animals regarding the illness of a person in authority, and is subsequently able to follow the instruc-

tions in order to heal that person and receive a reward, is one to be found in the Andes as far back as the 16C, and still to be found over a wide area today. Francisco de Avila collected the tale of Huatya-curi's cure of a local chief's illness by this means (loc.cit.), to which I referred in the discussion of the devil legend Tale 12. There too I mentioned certain modern-day descendents of this type, such as Mitchell (loc.cit.), PM/CT/1, and PM/CT/5. In the latter, as a further example, a poor girl cures her lover after hearing a dove speak with a solitary bird. The evidence therefore reveals a well-established Andean tradition for this narrative pattern, and the degree of influence of the international tale type is questionable; its compatibility with already existing structures would have encouraged any borrowing that did take place.

The content of the tale from Cañar is also linked to a local context, by the appearance of the dove, rather than any other animal, as intermediary. The dove as the animal that divulges the secret and recommends a cure from its own body fits in with local beliefs: this bird is one among a number of animals referred to as *brujacuna*, thought to be capable of sensing the approach of death, and announcing it in their behaviour, as GGG reported:

"Cuscunguca, chaimi chai huacagpi, genticuna huathugrin, Urpipish, Urpi huasi jahuaman shamushpa, chai urpi huacashpa, ña ungui tiyan o huañuncuna nin, Chaimanta urpi huacashcamanta pichca quillapi o sugta quillapi ña huasiyu huañun. Urpicunapish brujacunami, Urpicunapish huañunga cagpi huacana nin."

"When the owl cries, people are going to die. And doves too. When doves alight on the roof of the house and cry, then there is sickness or someone is to die. Five or six months after the dove cried, the house owner dies. Doves are 'witches' too. Doves cry too when someone is going to die."

MEZ answered my enquiries about the use of doves in remedies with the assertion that the heart of a freshly killed dove passed over the body is an effective remedy for certain illnesses, and a dove's egg in

agua de manzanilla is good for a '*pulsario*' (lung infection) - a relative of her grandmother's was reportedly cured in this way.

3.0 Tale 30

Unlike Tale 29, there is a strong argument for the identification of this text with an Aarne-Thompson type (A-T130). I have already examined its narrative pattern with reference to its common ground with Tale 15 of the Group (ii) devil legends. It was suggested that that tale might be an oicotype of A-T130 whose oicotypical features were the result of influence from the devil legend pattern. Such influence, in turn, would have occurred as a result of compatibility between the structure of the two tale types in the first place. Again Dundes's suggestion is borne out, and we can look for reasons for its adoption in its structure rather than its content.

4.0 Tale 31

| Tale 31: <i>Runahuan ch'alli huarmi' huan</i> | | | |
|---|---------|---|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | couple promise to follow each other to the grave | 1 |
| | i | wife dies, husband (H) buries himself alive with her for 24 years | 2 |
| | ii | fly enters grave, H kills it | 3 |
| | iii | Christ appears and tells H he was the fly, instructs how to revive wife | 3/6 |
| | iv | fly emerges from flower again, H follows instructions | 8 |
| | v | wife revives from dead | 9d |
| | vi | they emerge from grave and go home | |
| II | vii | wife elopes with sailor while H asleep | 1 |
| | viii | Christ appears again to H and advises | 3/6 |
| | ix | H follows advice in pursuit of wife | 2 |
| | x | H comes to town where king has died | |
| | xi | H uses remedy used for wife to revive king | 8 |
| | xii | as reward H becomes sea captain and waits for wife's return to port | 9c |
| | xiii | wife returns and is punished | |

The application of function headings to the episodes of this tale is only intended to point up in broad terms the similarities between the pattern of this tale, an apparently wholesale borrowing from undetermined Indo-European sources, and that of the material examined in the rest of the section. These similarities are: a) the initial situation sequence, b) in the acquisition of information by supernatural means and its subsequent implementation by the hero for his own profit. The initial situation may be compared with that found in Tale 17, and some implications of this were speculated upon in sub-section (c). The second sequence is associated with the Groups (i) and (ii) devil legends: in the first group we saw how a remedy taught by the devil is later used by the hero in return for reward from the person he cures; in the second group, information is also acquired which enables the hero or heroes to set right a situation to their own benefit. Whilst much of this tale must be borrowing, its narrative pattern matches up with the culturally preferred structures of the adopting area.

The initial situation sequence may be closely compared with A-T612, containing some of the motifs listed with the text above. A comparable version in the Americas was collected by Miller, her No.74: "*La esposa infiel*" (1973:265). The pattern there differs somewhat in that the husband uses the prelearnt method of resuscitation on himself after he is put to death by his wife's lover. The A-T listing does not bring in the use of the remedy on a later occasion at all. It would seem, therefore, that the occurrence of this 'subsequent use of remedy' sequence in the Cañar Tale 31 is best explained by the popularity of a similar pattern in the other, more traditional material. The narrative context of this borrowed tale type is particularly suitable for the introduction of the sequence, and so we see what is almost certainly an illustration of Dundes's suggestion that a

culture might: "perhaps alter borrowings in such a way as to make them conform to the preferred structural type" (loc.cit.).

5.0 Tale 32

| Tale 32: <i>Sueñondi, sapondi, apangurandi</i> | | | |
|--|---------|--|----------|
| MOVE | EPISODE | CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE OF EPISODES | FUNCTION |
| I | | dream, frog & crab (Hs) set out from home | 1/2 |
| | i | Hs find animal bones which they make into skeleton horse | 3 |
| | ii | continue journey mounted on skeleton | 2 |
| | iii | arrive at <i>hacienda</i> where woman never laughs | 7 |
| | iv | horse attempts to enter | |
| | v | horse collapses, woman laughs | |
| | vi | jealous husband captures Hs and locks them up | 9b |
| | vii | using various means, Hs escape and return home | 9d |

Whilst this tale contains a number of motifs traceable to Thompson's Index, and apparently derived from tale sources of Indo-European type, there is no one A-T type to which it can be related as a whole. The initial situation in which the actors set out on a journey can be compared perhaps with that of A-T130 and A-T210, containing motifs 'B296 Animals go a-journeying' and 'F1025 Objects go journeying together', as shown in the listing with the text. We are reminded also of the pattern of Tale 30, the almost unchanged version of A-T310, which also, broadly speaking, involves the journey of animals to a *hacienda* whose inhabitants they get the better of. Such comparisons, it must be stressed, are only at a broad level of underlying patterns, as is the case with all the tales in this section.

What such a method of analysis helps to show yet again is that apparently extraneous material may be found to have structural similarities with local narrative forms, and its appearance in the indian

storyteller's repertoire be explained in terms of its compatibility with already used and accepted narrative patterns. Not to be overlooked as an additional factor, in the case of 32 in particular, is the tale's sheer entertainment value. This is a story that appeals strongly to the imagination and sense of humour. The aetiological note at the end of the tale appears to be gratuitous, and probably has no real function in the preserving of the narrative, although it may act as an 'excuse' for its re-telling.

CHAPTER 4

Section B: The Christ Child cycle

Texts

Tale 33: *Niño Jesusmanta*

Entonces primeramenteca San Josecitolhuan Mamita Virgenhuan cana nin, Paicuna marido y mujer. Chai marido y mujer cagpimi entonces cai Mamita Virgenca nina nin Josetaca: - Oi, Jose, igual cashun, igual puricushun - nishpa nina nin San Josetaca. Chaipi entonces tuta nina nin: - Cunanca ñuca mana ima chushagllachu cani, cunanca cambata huigsayumi cani - nina niari Mamita Virgenca, Mamita Virgen chashna ningpica entonces Joseca nina nin Mamita Virgenta: - ¿Ñuca acaso cambia cuerpopi chayacuni? ¿Ñuca cambia cuerpopichu arrimaricuni? ¿Ima ruhuashpata canca chashna ningui? - nina niari.
Rabiarina nin San Joseca.

Entonces burrota apamuna nin potreromanta. Burrota apamush potreromanta parejana nin, tucui freno churachina nin. Tultocunapi tucui tiyash: herramientacuna churana nin: martillo nin, ima tenaza nin, ima formón nin, ima villavarquin nin, ima serrocho nin, ima nivel nin, esuadra nin, Carpenteria layataca tiyashca tiyashca tiyashca herramienta, Ña como paica carpintero y albañil cana nin San Joseca. Chashna burritopi apachishpaca rina nin maichari, casi siete días purin, siete noches purin ima. Ña chaipi cana nin ña paica ña aviarish, ña Mamita Virgenta shitash jichush chai nishcamanta rabiarish rina nin. Ña maipichari tutayash ña posashpa cagpi ña burrito mana avanzashca nin. Chaipi nishca entonces: - Caillapi posagrini. Burritota samachishpa, qu'ihuitapish tiyanmi, burritoman carash samachish nina nin.

Chaipi nigpica nin entonces chugpi tuta horasca San Joseta revelana nin Niño Jesusca todavía Mamita Virgenpa huigsapira cana nin, Mamita Virgenpa vientrespira. Chaipi San Joseta revelana nin. Nina nin: - Oi, taita, ¿ima ruhuashpata ñucataca shitagringeri, ñuca mamitata shitagringeri? Ñucaca cambia huahuami cani, imanchu yuyangui? ¿Ultimo qu'ipata chayashpa manchu yuyangui? Ñuca mamitapa vientrespica, manchu, asisuna sisahuan shitarcangui. Chaimi ñuca nacerircani. Can mana cuerpopi shayarishcangui, mana imanish cangui pero asisuna sisaca cuerpopi nacerircani - nishca nin -, ñuca ña nacerircani, ¿Ima ruhuashpata canca ñucataca shitash jichungui? ¿Ima ruhuashpata ñucataca saquiricungui? - nishca nin ña revelashca.

Chaipi tutaca ña. Mamita Virgenca huacashpa c'atina nin ñancuna chingarish, ñancuna mai cai chaita purishpa ña, mana tarishpa ña. Huacashpa c'atina nin ña Mamita Virgenca chaquipi, San Josepa chaquipi, Ña chashna revelagpi entonces nina nin: - Ari, ciertomi canga, ñuca ciertomi shitarcani. Chaimi canga - nishpa entonces arrepentirish shuyana nin.
Ña Mamita Virgen chayana nin.

Chaimanta cutina nin maicha ña cai Paraiso llagtata cutina nin. Paraiso llagtata cutishpa ña, cai Belenman shamuna nin. Belenpica causana nin ña algunos días. Casi chai ratocari Tiempo de Dios Padrepicari cana nin safarina nin. Casi pichca quillallapi safarina nin, Niño Jesus ña nacerina nin. Ña quimsa quillamanta huashaimanca ña estrella tiyarina

nin ña cielopica, semejante estrella ña, Lucero tiyarina nin, Belen, chai llagta rectopica tiyarina nin.

Chaipei cai millai Judascuna, casi millai soldadocuna nina nin: - ¿Ima ruhuashpata chaipei lucero tiyarin? ¿Ima ruhuashpata?

Mana amirincuna nin juin de una vez mana amirincuna nin: - ¿Ima ruhuashpa chaipei lucero tiyan?

Achig achish ña lucero tiyarina nin, chai chishi lucero nishoa, semejante brillash, jaganish. Entonces chaipica ña cana nin, nacerina nin. Nacerishca Belen llagtapi.

Chaipei nacerishpaca ña semejante helada cana nin, semejante rasu, chiri páramo cana nin. Chaipica entonces cai leonhuan tigrehuan ashtanacuna nin ugshataca. Ugshata ashtash: shugcuna caspi, shugcuna ugshata ashtashpa huasichinacuna nin. Huasichigpica entonces nina nin, cumancari ña chugllapi, chugllitata ruhuashca cana nin. Chaipei Niño Jesusca cana nin.

Chayana nin angelitocuna ima algodónhuan, chayana nin angelitocuna, Juin novedad que niño nacerishcashi. Ña como chai Tiempo Dios Padrepicari cana nin sacha, rumicuna, ima tucui juin rimarin, animalcuna rimarin, tucui cana nin Tiempo Dios Padrepica. Chaipei nina nin: - Bueno entonces canca caipei cai, ñuca rini cutimungapa - cai San Joseca Mamita Virgentaca.

Chaipeca chayana nin vaca chayana nin, samai churana nin. Ovejita chayana nin millmitata cuna nin, samai churashpa millmita cuna nin ovejita. C'uchicito chayashpa samita cuna nin. Burritocari, ima shuti, huaira ladomi shayarishpa jarcana nin burritocari ña Mamita Virgenta. Cutin cai mulaca chayana nin 'ua' 'ua' nirash chayana nin. Mulaca aisash shitana nin Niño Jesuspa huasicoito ruhuashcata, amullishpa aisash shitana nin, jaitana nin. Chaipishi Mamita Virgen nina nin: - Canca para siempre mula mama cangui, ama huachangui. Nunca ama huahuata charingui, canca para siempre mula mama c'atingui - nishpa nina nin Mamita Virgen maldeciana nin.

Shinashpashi cai mulaca mana ima huachan, mana imana, huarmi mulaca mana huachan, mana ima nin. Chai mula Mamita Virgen maldeciadomanta.

Chaimanta cutin huagra chayana nin. Huagra chayashpa c'acurishpa entonces cachuhuan aventana nin. Chaipei Mamita Virgen ña nina nin: - Camba chashnamanta, camba shina jiru geniomanta garrote, puya, chicote, alli tucui punzha tutamanta micushcaca, tucui punzha mana micushca allpata yapushpami cainangui - nish maldeciana nin. Shinashpashi yuntataca ña tutamanta carashcaca tucui punzha mana micush chashna armapi cainana nin.

Shinashi entonces ña jatunyana nin, jatunyana nin, jatunyana nin. Ña corriente edad cana nin, shug cuatro años shinachari. Shinagpica ña chingarina nin Mamita Virgenpa pobre chugllitamanta chingarina nin Niño Jesusca. Maitami rirca mana rirca, Juin mashcanacuna nin mai, mana tarinacuna nin. Juin mashcanacuna chaimanta Mamita Virgenta nina nin: - Jai, imaipishi carcani ñucaca? imaipishi carcani? Ñuca cancuna puricugpi chaillapi shayacurcani ladopimi - nina nin Niño Jesusca.

Chaimanta cutin taitaca entonces Mamita Virgenman carangapa contrata japina nin shug huasi ruhuangapa. Huasi ruhuacuna nin, cementota pascacuna nin. Paica, ni ima yacu mana tiyan, mana ima yacu cagpi yacuta jarcamushpa cementopi libre cachash shitana nin tucui turuyash

shitana ña. - Huambra travieso riqui imatami ruhuangui, riqui.
Cunanca caipi cemento tigrangachariari - nina nin San Jose,
Chaica en seguidita ña imata ruhan, imanalla, taitapa cutimungacama,
Libre chashna chaquishca exacto siricuna nin pambaca.

Cutin qu'ipata lo mismo; micungapa yaicuna nin ucuman. - Ña puri hijo,
puri micungapa - nina nin.
Entoncesca chai carpintero chai obra ruhuador huasi c'ayana nin
micungapa shamuchun nish. Chaipi tucui tiyashca chunga isheai
chuchicunataca huañuchish cunga, pillush cunga, -illush cashna migllashca
yaicuna nin. Chashna migllashpa carumanta shitana nin chuchicunata.
Chaipi nina nin; - Riqui caita ruhuangui, cunancari Jose paganguimi
cai chuchicunataca - nina nin -, riqui huambra travieso imatami ruhan -
nish.
Paica asish shayacun nin chai ruhuashpaca,

Chaimanta huambra chaillapita: - Shitagri canzhapi shitagri, Cunancari
ña paganguichariari - San Josetaca ña, Niño Jesus chai ruhuashcamanta,
Chaipi entonces ña canzhaman llugshishpaca montonashca nin. Cutin
micugpipish micugpipish canzhaman llugshishpaca cutin huañushca chuchi-
cuna libre cutin causachishpa. Chashnallata cutin ponchopimi 'chirag
chirag' nish migllashca ucuman yaicuna nin cutin chuchicunahuanca.
Chaimanta ña: - Jesus Ave Maria ima canca milagroso shinami cangui -
nishpa nina nin Niño Jesustaca.
Asicuna nin,

Chaimanta micushpa llugshina nin. Cutin taita jahuapi nivelacugpica,
cutin paica serrochota japishpaca vigacunata libre trozo trozo ruhuash
shitana nin juin, serrochota japishpaca. - Huambra travieso, riqui,
imatami ruhuangui? Cunan ña caspicunata maimantata ruhuash, ña
medishca carca. Ña medishca clavanalla carca. Cunanca ima shinata
añidisha, maipita randigrisha, maipita imanasha? Ni cullquita mana
charini, pobrezamanta caipi trabajacuni- nishpa nina nin p'iñarina nin,
Cutin pai uraicush vuelтата cungacama caspicuna enterito cana nin,
vigacunaca.

Chashna puricuna nin, puricuna nin. Shinapish ña cutin chingarina
nin. Ña chaimanta ashtauñ jatunyashpaca chingarina nin juin. Ña
tucui novedad cana nin: michiguna ricungapa shamuna nin tucui juin,
Paica ña jatun, callpacug cana nin. Shinashpami entonces ña purina
paica ña, chingarish chingarish chingarish. Chashna templocunapi
tarirish, doctorecuna chugpicunapi taririshpa. Entonces shinacushpami
ña cai Herodes, cai ima shuticunaca ña c'ati callarirca nin, cai
Pilatuscunaca ña. - Ricungapa rishunchi cai Belen llagtapi ima
milagrososhi ñucanchipa contrario - ninmi -, jacuchi tiyashcata
ricungapa - nish soldadocuna, chai Pilatus, chai Herodes.
Chaicuna shamuna nin ña Belen llagtapi ricungapa,

Chaita sentishpami ladoyana nin Niño Jesusca ña, maita ña. Chaqui
pagtashcata ladoyana nin. C'atinacuna nin, c'atinacuna nin, c'atinacuna
nin juin. Chaquipi juin ña chai Pilatus, chai Herodes, chai Satanas
nishcunaca chaicunaca ña c'atinacunanari. Ña avanzagricugpica
algodón yura tucuna nin. Sumaimana algodón yura ucupi tiyashpa cutin
ña pasanacuna nin. Rinacuna nin, rinacuna nin, ña maipichari, Paica
saquirish ña shug ladota rina nin. Chai último suchu, chai Herodes
nina nin: - Mana, mana ima caita rishcachu. Cuti cutishun chai
algodón yuramanta chaimanta cutin mutquingapa maitami rishca - nina
nin chai último, chai capatazca, chai Pilatus nishcaca,

Chai cutishpa cutin nina nin: - Mana, caitami rishca. Cunan ña algodón yuraca illanmi. Chai caipimi carca, cunan ña algodón yuracuna illanmi. Más que paimi casheanga - nishca nin.

Chaica entonces rina nin rina nin. Ña maipicha avanzariugpi gallito tucuna nin. Gallito tucushpaca entonces cantana nin.

- Chaica mana ñucapa, chaica jiru runapa, jiru runapa. Chaica mana ñucanchipachu, mana ñucanchipachu.

Cantaun.

- Caitami pasasheanga más que - nina nin chai Pilatusca ña.

Chaipica chaíta pasarina nin, cutin shug ladota rina nin.

Ña shug ladota ricungpica entonces tarpucuna nin shug pambapica. Nina nin: - ¿Ima ruhuacunguichiari? - nina nin.

Chaipi nina nin: - Ñucanchica, chiquillito, caipimi asha cebaditata jichacunchi, taita Diospa maquipi churagricunchi - nina nin.

Chaipi nina nin: - Ari, hijo, ari. Entonces caya ricungapa shamungui, pero ningui cai quillpacui punzhami pasarca, porque pagta ningui man cainami pasarca - nishpa -, pagta ningui man. Pero cai quillpacui punzhami pasarca, shina ningui - nishca -, ñucataca soldadocuna japisha nishpami shamun, chaquipi shamucun - nina nin. Shina nish, alvertishpa saquina nin entonces: - Caya ricungapa shamungui. Caya seganalla shamungui, peoncuna mañash. Chashna ña paicuna segangapa shayarigrigupimi chayamungacuna - nishca nin -, chaipimi tapunga - nishca nin -, chaipi ningui chi que cai quillpacui punzhami pasarca, ñucanchi ña segacunchi. Ña chaipi chashna entendishca shayaringacunami - nishca nin -, chaicamanea ñuca ñami ashtan caruyasha - nishca nin.

Chashna ña alvertishca cayandi ricungapa shamuna nin gentecuna rogash, maquicitocuna rogash, animal tucui, tucui shamuna nin. Chai shamugpica ña juin cebadaca, cosa que umacuna tucui pambapi urmashpa cana nin, juru nishpa. Grano sumaimana racu grano. Sumaimana cana nin ña casi Dios bendisiasheca granotaca, juin maravilla grano cana nin. Ña shina chayamugpi nina nin: - Cai quillpacui punzhami pasarca caitaca shug chiquillito, corriente chiquillitomi pasarca. Cai quillpacui punzhami pasarca, yanushquita convidashca, micushpami pasarirca - nishca nin. - P'a, chaica ña mai carupimi canga - nina nin -, juin carupi. De ganami e'aticunchi. Saquishunlla - nishpa shayarina cuna nin, shugcuna ña tiyarina cuna nin. Chai último capataz suchu, chai manco chayashpa nina nin mutquishpa: - Mana, mana ima mai carupichu. Caillapimi - nina nin -, caillapimi.

Shinashi ña e'atinacuna nin, e'atinacuna nin, e'atinacuna nin. Shugpica cutin shinallata cutin quillpacuna nin trigota. Trigota quillpacugta nina nin chiquillo curiosoca: - ¿Ima ruhuacunguichiari? - nina nin. Chai dueñoca nina nin: - Chiquillo curioso, canca imata tapush ninguiari imatapish tarpucushun mana tarpucushun. Pudinchu rumitapish tarpucumata - nina nin.

Chaipica entonces chiquillo nina nin: - Ari, canca shina ningui. Caya ricungapa shamungui. Camba allpaca maipi ni seña mana tiyangachu, chushag rumimi canga - nina nin.

Chashna nina nin sumag Diosca ña: - Caya ricungpa shamungui. Canca trigota p'ucushunmi, caya ricungapa shamungui. Camba allpaca ni seña mana tiyangachu. Chushag rumimi canga camba allpaca - nina nin.

Chai shina nish pasarina nin. Ña maicha rina nin rina nin rina nin.

Al final entonces ña maichari cai Rosario Calleta ricugpimi ña tupanacuna nin cai Pilatuscunahuan, cai Judaicucunahuan. Chaipi presacuna nin. Presashpaca entonces aparinacuna nin cai primeroca Pilatuspa huasiman. Pilatuspa huasipimi ña chaqui maquicuna chagnashca shayashca nin. Gallo cantai horascama shayashca nin. Chaimantami entonces cai Satanaspas huasimanca pasachishca nin. Satanás ordenachun imatami ruhuan mana ruhuan nish ña. Ña casi treinta y tres años de edad japi tucushca nin paica. Chaimanta juin c'atish purishca nin cai mundo enterota. Shina ña japi tucushca.

Chaimanta entonces Satanás cuti cutichish cachashca nin Herodespa huasiman. Herodesmi cutin ña cachashca nin Pilatusllata mandachun nish. Pilatusmi mandashca nin entonces castigachun nishpa. Pilarpi huatashpa, chaqui maquita alli huatashpa, chagnashpa, Sabilas huasacahuan chagnashpa membrillo varahuanca sobachun nishca nin. Chaipimi entonces cai millai soldado Herodescunaca sumag Diostaca castigashcacuna carca más shug pichea huaranga yalli membrillo varahuanca. Castigashcacuna carca munai pilarpi huatash cosa que lomitocuna, rigritacuna changuitahuan munai pascashca juin. Chaimi Pilatus llugshishpami ña compasión charishca nishca nin: - Yalli azotishcanguichi. Shinalla saquichi - nishca nin - chashnalla saquichi, yalli azotishcanguichi - nish.

Chaimantami aparishcacuna ña maichari cai Satanaspas huasipi. Satanaspas huasipimi chugpi tuta chayashca. Chugpi tutamantaca chagnashpa shayashca. Ñahuita vendashcacuna, tucui juin. Ñahuita vendashpaca caruta lusta shayachishcacuna. Caruta lusta shayachishpami, velash, ñahuita velash pacarishcacuna. Chaimanta shug shamun, huagtana nin. Shug shamun, jaitana nin. Shug shamun, membrillo varahuan huagtana nin. Shug shamun cutin sabilus huasacahuan huagtana nin.

Chaipica ña tapushcacuna nin cayandica: - Adivinai maijen maijenllapish huagtarcanchi - nishpa nishca nin sumag Diostaca chai Pilatuscunaca -, ña que Dios cashcangui adiviani pi pimi huagtarcanchi, maijen maijenlla huagtarcanchi - nishpa nishca nin taita Diositotaca. Chaimanta taita Dios imata mana respondishca. Mana respondigpi nishca nin: - Canca loco runa shinami cangui - nishca nin -, loco runami cangui. Nishpa cutin cachashca nin cai Satanaspas huasiman. Satanaspas huasipimi entonces ña Diospa churanata libre churachishca ña, libre llugchichishca, destrastechishca. Puca, paicunapa traste, puca traste churachishcacuna nin sumag Diostaca. Chaimantami ña casi sumag Diosca ña Satanaspas huasimanta presohuan llugshirca ña, cruzta aparishpaca ña,

Cruzta aparishpaca llugshishpaca Calvarioman puri callarirca. Cai Rosario Callepica María Magdalenahuan tupashca nin. Chai María Magdalenataca p'iñarishca nin: - Ama huacaichu ñucamantaca - nishca nin -, ama huacaichu ñucamantaca. Paicunamanta huacai - nishca nin, P'iñarish saquishca nin. Shina saquishpami Mamita Virgentaca tupashca nin cai Rosario Callepi. Chai Rosario Callepi tupashpami taita Diositotaca ña jumbishca ña yahuar juin shutushca, tucui juin urmashca, macashca, tucui. Chaipi liensillo pañohuan tupashpaca ñahuita p'ichachishca nin. Entonces sumag Diospa milagropi cai liensillo pañopica sumag Diospa ñahui tiyarirca chai pañopica ña. Ñahui exactito tiyarirca. Ñahui tiyarishpami ña purirca, ña purirca, purirca, rirca, rirca.

Ña mana avanzagpimi entonces cai Pilatushuan, cai soldado Herodes mayoralca nishca: - ¿Mana avanzangachu? Entonces Simon Sereneota rogash shamushun, alquilash shamunshun. Pai siquiera ashata ayudachun -

nishca nin.

Chaimi entonces Simon Sereneoca ña ayudangapa shamushca ña. Ayudash rishca ña. Chaimantami ña rishca ña, Calvario lomapi chayashca. Calvario lomapi chayashpami ña, taita Diositotaca entonces ña Padre Nuestro nicugpimi crucificash. Ña chaipi chacatapishi huacñureari ña, Chaillapi tucurin.

The story of the Christ Child

Conception and pregnancy

In the first place there were Saint Joseph and Saint Mary who lived together as man and wife, for the Virgen said to Joseph: "Joseph, let's be together, let's go together."

Then one night she told him: "I'm not empty at all, I am pregnant by you." "Have I by any chance made love to you?" replied Joseph, "have I ever come close to your body? Why are you saying that?" and Saint Joseph was angry.

So he brought a donkey from the meadow and saddled it. He had all his tools packed in sacks: a hammer, a pair of pliers, a chisel, a plane, a saw, a spirit level, and a carpenter's square. They were all the tools of a carpenter's trade, for Saint Joseph was a carpenter and bricklayer. So loading everything onto his donkey he set off for who knows where, and travelled for about seven days and seven nights. He said goodbye to the Virgen and abandoned her, angry with her for what she had said. Night came down when he was in some remote part, the little donkey could't go any farther, and it was time to rest. "I'll take shelter here," he said.

There was pasture for the donkey so he put it to graze and to rest.

Then at midnight the Christ Child appeared to him in a vision while still inside the Virgen's womb: "Hey, father," he said, "why are you going away and abandoning me? Why are you going to abandon my mother? I am your child, don't you recall? Don't you remember how you arrived at the end? You threw a lily flower onto my mother's stomach, didn't you? And so I was conceived. You didn't lie with her but I was born of the lily flower on her body. So why do you abandon me? Why do you leave me behind?"

So said the Christ Child in the revelation.

It was night time now and the Virgen was following in tears, losing her way as she wandered hither and thither without finding her husband. She wept as she followed Saint Joseph's tracks. Then when the Christ Child revealed himself to him, Saint Joseph said: "Yes, it must be true. It's true that I left them. That must be it." And so he repented and waited for the Virgen. Then she arrived.

Birth

After that they returned to the land of Paradise. When they came back to Paradise, they came to Bethlehem and there they lived for a few days. That time of course was the Age of God the Father and it was then that the Virgen gave birth. She gave birth in a space of only five months, and the Christ Child was born. Then after three months there appeared behind them in the sky a wonderful evening star, shining directly above the town of Bethlehem.

Then those wicked Judases, who were something like soldiers, said: "Why is that star shining there?"

And they persisted with their question: "What is that star doing there?" That star they call the evening star twinkled brightly in the sky. And there in the town of Bethlehem he was born.

Adoration of the animals

He was born at a very cold time of year: there was a chill wind blowing and snow and ice lay all around. So then the lion and the tiger collected thatch and sticks and thus built a house, a little thatched house. And there the Christ Child lay. Then the angels arrived bringing cotton, and the news spread that the Child was born. For as that was the Age of God the Father, the trees, rocks, animals, and everything could speak. Everything had the gift of speech in the Age of God the Father. Then Saint Joseph told Mary: "You stay here, I'll be back shortly."

Then the cow arrived and warmed the mother and baby with its breath; the sheep arrived and made a gift of its wool, and also warmed them with its breath; the little pig came and breathed on them; the little donkey came and stood in the way of the wind to protect the Virgen. And then the mule arrived braying repeatedly. He pulled over the little house that had been made for the Christ Child. Taking a mouthful of thatch and kicking with his hooves, he knocked it down. Thereupon the Virgen cursed the mule saying: "You shall always be a female mule, but you shall never give birth. You shall never have children, you shall just go on being a barren female mule."

And so mules never give birth or anything. Female mules never have children because of the curse put on them by the Virgen.

Next the ox arrived. When he arrived he butted and tossed his horns, whereupon the Virgen told him: "Because of that, because of your bad temper, you shall spend all day from dawn to dusk being driven at the plough by whips, sticks and lashes without anything to eat." And that is why once the oxen have been fed in the morning they go all day in the plough without eating anything.

Infancy

And so the Christ Child grew and grew. He grew to a regular age, about four years old or so. That being so, he got lost one day from his mother's humble cottage. No-one knew where he had gone. They hunted high and low without finding him. They searched hard and then he spoke to the Virgen: "Haha, where was I? Where was I? While you were out looking for me, I was standing right there at your side."

Then on one occasion Joseph entered a contract to build a house in order to feed his wife. There he was, building the house, and he came to prepare the cement. As yet he had not mixed it with water, when along came the Christ Child and released the water onto the cement, turning it all to mud. "You mischievous child, look what you have done! Now all the cement is going to overflow," said Saint Joseph. Then the Child did something while his father was gone and all the cement dried up and lay on the floor exactly as it had been before.

Then he played another trick: it was time to go indoors for a meal. "Come along, son, come and eat," they told him.

The man who was having the house built called them to eat. Then the Child killed twelve baby chicks, wrapped them in his *poncho* and carried them into the house. Then the man said: "Look what you've done. Now, Joseph, you shall pay for those chicks. Look what that naughty child has done."

And the Child just stood there laughing at his deed.

Then they said to the Child: "Go and throw the dead chicks outside." And they told Joseph that indeed he would have to pay for what the Christ Child had done. So then he went out side and placed the chicks in a heap. He went out while they were all eating and the dead chicks then all came back to life. Then he wrapped them again carefully in his *poncho* and went inside, this time with the live chicks. When they saw this, they cried: "Jesus Ave Maria! What a miracle you have performed!" And he was laughing.

After eating they went outside. Then while his father was up above doing a levelling job, the Child took a saw and cut the beams into pieces. "You naughty boy, what are you doing? Those beams were all measured out and ready to be nailed. Now how shall I replace them? Where shall I buy new ones? What shall I do? I don't have any money. I work here because I'm poor," Saint Joseph said angrily. Then while Saint Joseph's back was turned, as he climbed down from the upper level, the beams of wood were made quite whole again.

So life went on, and then one day the Christ Child got lost, when he was now much older. The news spread and the shepherds came to see him. He was now grown and would run about from place to place. And thus one day as he wandered he became lost. Then he found himself in the temple in the midst of the elders. And so it was that this Herod and these Pilate people began to follow him saying: "Let's go and see what miracles our enemy is said to perform in the town of Bethlehem. Let's go and see what is there." Those men, therefore, came to Bethlehem to see.

Pursuit of the Christ Child

When Christ heard this news he departed and went away as far as his legs would carry him. Those Pilate, Herod or Satan men, as they were called, followed close in his tracks. As they were catching up with him, so Christ turned into a beautiful cotton tree. There he remained a long time as a cotton tree and his pursuers passed him by. They went on and on, who knows where. The Christ Child remained behind and then made off in a different direction. Then that hunchback, that Herod, who took up the rear, said: "No, he hasn't gone this way. Let's go back and try to smell out which way he went from where that cotton tree stood."

Those were the words of that so-called foreman or Pilate who came at the end. And so they returned and he spoke again: "You see, he went this way. The cotton tree isn't here any more. It was here, and now it's gone. So it must have been him."

So the Christ Child walked on and on. Then in some place they were about to catch up with him again, so he turned into a cockerel and crowed, "That's not our cockerel," they said, "that's the bad man's cockerel, it isn't ours." It continued crowing. "He must have gone this way," said Pilate and they went in that direction. Then Christ took another road.

As he was going along that other road he came to a plain where there were people sowing. "What might you be doing?" he asked. "We're scattering a little barley, little one. We are going to place it in the hands of God." "Yes, yes, my son. Now come tomorrow to look at your field, but you must say that I went by the day you were sowing. Be careful not to say I went by yesterday. Say that I passed by the day you were sowing. For some soldiers are following in my tracks to capture me." Thus he warned them: "Come and look tomorrow. Come ready to harvest,

with hired hands. Then just as you are about to begin reaping, they will arrive and question you. Then you must say that I passed by the day you were sowing the grain, and now you are reaping it. When they hear that they will stand there. And meanwhile I shall be a long way off."

Thus was Christ's warning. Then the following day the reapers came to look, with helpers and animals for the work. When they came they saw the barley had grown tall and was drooping to the ground, so thick and heavy were the heads of grain. It was the most beautiful grain, almost as if it had been blessed by God. And so when the pursuers arrived, they told them; "A little boy went by this way the day we were sowing, quite a fair-sized little boy he was. He passed by the day we were sowing and invited us to a little cooked potatoes. Then when he had eaten he went on his way."

"Huh, he must be a long way off by now," they said, "there's no point in our following him. Let's just leave it," and they stood there. Others lay down on the ground. But then at the end that hunchbacked, one-armed foreman character arrived and sniffed about; "No," he said, "he's not far off at all. He's just about here."

And so they all followed on together. On another occasion then, Christ met some wheat-sowers in a similar way. The youngster asked them:

"What might you be doing?"

And the owner of the field replied: "You curious youngster, what business do you have to be asking what we're sowing? We could be planting stones for all it has to do with you."

Thereupon the boy said: "Yes, that is your reply. Now come tomorrow to look at your field. There won't be a trace of your ground to be seen, but just barren stones."

Those were the words of God: "Come and look tomorrow. You are hoping wheat might grow, but there won't be a trace of earth left. Your land will be covered in barren stones."

So saying he went on his way, and walked on and on, who knows where.

Capture and crucifixion

In the end, as he was going along that street known as the Street of the Rosary, those Pilate men, those Jews, met with him and took him prisoner. Having captured him they took him between them first to the house of Pilate. There he stood with his hands and feet bound until the hour of cockcrow. After that they made him go on to the house of Satan, so that Satan might command what should be done with him. He was about thirty-three years old when he was taken prisoner. They had pursued him all over the world and then he was captured.

After that, then Satan sent him back to Herod's house. Herod however sent him to Pilate that he alone might command what should be done. Pilate then ordered that he should be punished. He was tied to a pillar with his feet and hands will bound and trussed, with a rope made of *sabila chahuar*, in order that he might be birched. Thereupon those wicked Herod soldiers punished God with more than five thousand strokes of the rod. They punished him at their will, tying him to the pillar, so that his back, his arms, and his legs became covered in weals. Then Pilate came out and took compassion, saying: "You beat him too much. Leave it at that."

After that, they carried him off to Satan's house. They arrived there at midnight, and bound him as he stood. They blindfolded him and put a light at some distance from him. Then they set watch over him all night,

First one would approach and beat him; then another would come and kick him. Another would come and birch him, and another would thrash him with rope made of *sabila chahuar*.

The next morning they questioned him: "Guess which of us were the ones to beat you? If you are God then guess who beat you, which of us were the ones?"

But God answered not.

"You are a crazy man then," they said when he gave no reply. So saying, they sent him again to Satan's house. There they took off all God's clothes, completely stripping him. Then they dressed him in their own red garments. After that he left Satan's house carrying the cross.

Carrying out the cross, he started to walk towards Calvary. In the Street of the Rosary, he met Mary Magdalene. He chided her saying: "Do not cry on my account, cry for them instead." He scolded her and left her. As he left her he then met the Virgin Mary in the same street. He was sweating and dripping with blood and when she met him she wiped his face with a linen cloth. Then by a miracle, the imprint of God's face remained there on the cloth, an exact replica of his face. After that he continued walking, on and on.

Then when he could go no further, the chief of the Herod soldiers said: "Can't he make it? Then let's send for Simon of Cyrene and hire him to lend a hand."

So then Simon of Cyrene came to help. On they went and arrived on Mount Calvary. There on Mount Calvary, as he spoke the Pater Noster, they crucified our God. There indeed he died on the cross. There the story ends.

Informant: EDC, 27th November, 1976

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| T510 | Miraculous conception |
| A511.1.3 | Culture hero incarnated through birth from Virgin |
| T532.3 | Conception from fruit thrown against breast |
| T575.1.1.3 | Child in mother's womb reveals unjust judgment |
| T573 | Short pregnancy |
| A1101.1.2 | Even trees could speak in golden age |
| B251.1.1 | Animals worship infant Jesus |
| V232.7 | Gifts from angels |
| A2561.1 | Why mule is sterile |
| A2231.7 | Animal harmful to holy person cursed |
| A527.1 | Culture hero precocious |
| A521 | Culture hero as dupe or trickster |
| A177.1 | God as dupe or trickster |
| A527.3.1 | Culture hero can transform self |
| D215 | Transformation: man to tree |
| D166.1.1 | Transformation: man to cock |
| D642.7 | Transformation to elude pursuers |
| F971.7 | Sowing and reaping same day |
| H1023.17 | Task: sowing rye and bringing crop next morning |
| Q41 | Politeness rewarded |
| Q20 | Piety rewarded |
| A2721.3.1 | Man tells Jesus he is sowing stones. "You shall get stones" |
| G303.13.1.15 | Devil appears as a Jew |
| G303.5.3 | The devil dressed in red |
| V121 | Miraculous image of Christ impressed on napkin |

Tale 34: Niño Jesusmanta

Nucamampish abuelami parlarca cai cuentotaca, ima shuti, Mamita Virgen tiyana nin quimsa ñañandi. Quimsa ñañandimantaca shugca casamentera, shugca beata, shugca mundañera. Chai Mamita Virgenca ña chashna puricushpallata cazarangapa juin tucuita amuna nin cazarangapa ña. Pi mana cazarasha nina nin. Chaipica nina nin: - ¿Pita faltan? ¿Pita faltan? ¿Pitata caipica faltachinchi? Mama Virgenta pi mana cazarash ninchu.

Chaipica nina nin: - Josemi faltan - nish nigpica rina nin Joseta amungapa.

Joseta amugpica entonces, San Josecito shamushpac asisunahuan Mamita Virgenpa pechopi shitashpaca rina nin callpash. Chaimanta cutina nin Mamita Virgen cazarana nin ña chaimantaca.

Chaipi cazarashpaca, chashna puricush puricushpallata ña, shug viaje ugllashca nin. Mamita Virgenta ugllagpica nishca nin, huahuitaca huigsapi saltashca nin. Chaipi saltagpica nishca nin: - Ari, mana ñuca churichu, mana ñuca ushichu. Pipa, imaipatami canca safarigringui? Mana ñucapachu - nish ña San Josecito negana nin. Negashpaca ña entonces que ña rina nin burrito tucui laya herramientata cargashpa juin ñumpachish maita aviarish ña Mamita Virgen ña huigsa junda cagpica.

Shinashpa rishpaca maitacha Mamita Virgen huacash c'atina nin, huacash c'atina nin. Huacash c'atigpi maipicharica ña amsayagpica sueñashca nin Mamita Virgen. Sueñagpica entonces que nishca nin, Niño Jesusca revelashca nin: - Mana ñucaca huahuachu cani, Niño Jesusmi nacericuni. ¿Ima ruhuashpata negangui, papacito? ñuca cambia churimi cani. ¿Ima ruhuash ñuca mamitapa pechopi asisunahuan shitashpami criarircani? - nishpashi ña revelana.

Chaipishi ña San Joseca creina nin. Ña entonces mana huahuachu cashca, Niño Jesusmi cashca nish. Chashna maipichari ña japinata avanzashpaca, ña cuticuna nin ña Mamita Virgenca ña. San Josecito ñumpachishca tucui laya herramienta cargashca. Chashnashpashi ña shamuna nin. Chaipi ña entonces maipi cash ña safarina nin Mamita Virgen Niño Jesusta.

Zafarish, puricush puricush puricush, ña Judascuna c'atig shamuna nin ña Niño Jesustaca huañuchingapa: - Ñucanchipa contrami shamun - nish. Chaipica ña entonces maipi cash trillacuna nin. Trillacushpaca nina nin: - Caipi huambra chiquillo millai shamun. Chiquillo millai shamun, miticuiichi t'amupi.

Nish nigpica miticunacuna nin huahuacuna. Chaipica huarmicunataca tapuna nin: - ¿Pita caipica sueñacunyá?

- C'uchicunami sueñacun - nish.

Nigpica nina nin caipi: - C'uchi c'uchi jatari, c'uchi jatari, c'uchi - nish.

Nigpica c'uchicuna jatarina nin juin 'oj oj' nirashca c'uchicunaca juin ña. C'uchicuna nishcamanta huahuacunaca c'uchi jatarina nin.

Chashnashpashi ña entonces pasamuna nin. Pasamugpichari ima cebadata quillpacuna nin. Quillpacugpica nina nin: - Runito, imatata can caipi churacunguiyá?

Chaipi nina nin: - Chiquillo curiosopish imatapish, rumita tarpucunchiyá. Chaipica Niño Jesusca maldecíash pasana nin caitaca: - Caya punzha ricug shamungui ima shinami - nish.

Cayandi punzha shamugpica juin rumi nin, sachacuna nin, junda cana nin, ima.

Cutin cai shug ura urallapi tarpucushca nin, cebaditallata quillpacushca nin. Chaipica nina nin: - Runito, imata canca churacungulari? - nish. Nigpi nina nin: - Nucaca chiquillito, nuca caipi Diospa maquipi churacuni. Quizas p'ucunga cebaditaca.

Chaipi nina nin: - Caya punzha ricug shamungui caita caipi ima shinami canga - nish.

Ari nish cayandi shamuna nin. Muyucuna nin chagrata. Muyucugpica ña chayamuna nin juin cai tuqui Judascuna ña chayamuna nin.

Chayamugpica juin ña, ima shuti, chaitaca pasacuncuna nin. Chaipishi nina nin: - Oi, imanchu caita pasarca shug chiquillo? - nish nina nin. Chaipi nina nin: - Pasanata pasarcami caita tarpucug punzhami pasarcami - nin.

- imaipimi canga? - ninashi cai shugcunapish - imaitami rishcangacuna? - nina nin.

Chaipi cutin shug suchu ninmi, shug juin encogido nin, chaica nina nin :

- Paya bruju runaca brujiashpami pasarishcanga - nina nin.

Shina chaillami. Mana imata yachanichu.

The story of the Christ Child

Marriage

My grandmother also told me this story, how does it go? The Virgen Mary had three sisters: of the three sisters one was marriageable, one was a devout spinster, and the other was a 'loose woman'. Now the Virgen was to be married, so they brought many people to see if they would marry her. But not one wanted to marry her. Then they said: "Who's missing? Who's missing? Whom haven't we brought? No-one wants to marry the Virgen Mary."

Then someone else said: "Joseph is missing."

And they went to bring Joseph. When they had brought him to the place he threw a lily onto the Virgen Mary's breast and then ran away. Then he returned and married her.

Conception and pregnancy and birth

After they were married they were going on a journey. Then Saint Joseph embraced the Virgen. As he held her, the little baby leapt within the Virgen's womb. When it moved like that, Saint Joseph said: "That is not my son, that is not my daughter. Whose child are you going to give birth to? It isn't mine."

Thus denying the child, he went away carrying all his tools on his donkey which he drove in front of him, and saying goodbye to his pregnant wife.

The Virgen Mary followed after him crying. As she followed him weeping and not knowing where she was going, night fell and she went to sleep. As she was sleeping, the Christ Child appeared in a vision to Saint Joseph: "I am not your child," said he, "I am being born the Christ Child. Why do you deny me, father? I am your son. Why did you create me by throwing the lily onto my mother's breast?"

Then Saint Joseph believed him. For it wasn't an ordinary child after all, it was the Christ Child. So in that way the Virgen Mary managed to catch up with him and they returned, Saint Joseph driving before him his donkey laden with all kinds of tools. Thus they came back. And then in some place the Virgen gave birth to the Christ Child.

Pursuit of the Christ Child

She gave birth and some time passed. Then the Judases came after the Christ Child to kill him, saying: "Our enemy is nigh." Then in one place there were some people threshing grain. As they were threshing, they said: "That wicked little child is coming. The wicked little one is coming, hide in the long grass." With that, their children hid themselves. Then the Christ Child asked the women: "Who is sleeping here, then?" "The pigs are sleeping there," they said. Hearing their reply the Christ Child called: "Piggy, piggy, get up! Piggy, piggy, get up!" As he said that the pigs rose, grunting noisily. Because the women had replied in that way, their children got up from the grass as pigs.

And so the Christ Child went on his way. As he went he came across some people sowing barley. As they sowed, he asked them: "Little man, what might you be planting here?" "What do you think, you nosey little boy? We're planting stones, of course," they answered. Then the Christ Child put a curse on them as he went by: "Come tomorrow to see what things are like," he told them. And the next day when they came the field was full of stones and weeds.

Then on another occasion, way down in a valley, there were some people sowing more barley. "Little man, what are you sowing?" asked the Christ Child.

"Little one, here I am placing a little barley in the hands of God. May it only grow."

"Come and see your field tomorrow," said the Christ Child, "come and see what it is like."

Accordingly he came the next day and found the grain ripening in his field. At that moment all those Judases came along. As they came past, they asked: "Hey you, have you seen a little boy go by this way?"

"Yes, he passed by here the day we were sowing."

"Where must he be now?" said the others, "where can they have gone?"

Then a deformed, stooping member of the search party spoke up saying:

"That old witch must have lain a spell on this place as he went by." That's how it goes. I don't know any more.

Informant: MEZ, 30th August, 1976

some as for Tale 33, plus:

Q584.2 Transformation of a man to animal as fitting punishment

D136 Transformation: man to swine

Tale 35: *Diospa bendicionca*

Cunanca mana charigllami mana charinchi. Chayugcunaca charincunallatami. Nuppa tiempoca mana tiyashca nin ima grano, mana p'ucushca nin. Ima grano mana tiyashca. Charigcunacá charishcacuna ari, charigcunaca, pero pobrecuna mana charishca imata. Huahuacuna tiyashca, ishcaindilla huahuacunaca tiyashca. Chai huahuacunaca yarcapi mana imata micunata mana pundishca. Mama yaya lo mismo nin. Chaica risheacuna nin mashcaringapa. Risheacuna nin maita mashcaringapa maipichari hojitas de borbolín: - Rinchimi mashcangapa hojitas de borbolinta. Chaica hojitas de borbolinea maipicharica semejante tiyanataca tiyashca nin, pero shug papa chagra cuenta shina cuidashca. Papa chagrata shina alli segurashca tiyashca nin, chai hojitas de borbolinea, nabitos. Chaitaca risheacuna nin consiguiingapa chai nabitostaca. Bueno chaica

nabitosmanca rishca. Taita mama rishca nin mashcaringapa chai nabitostaca, hojitas de borbolín,

Huahuacuna saquirishca isheaindilla saquirishcacuna nin, huaquindizitucuna saquirishca. Chaica imata mana micui pudishpaca huacashpa nin huacanacushpa nin, Shug yuranlla allquitoca chayarishca nin, Chaisitupish cutin huacashpa nin mana imata pi carashca huacashpa nin. Allquitopish llugshicun nin yaicucun nin huambacunaca igual. Chaica huambritocunaca ¿imatata ruhan? ¿Imatata? Shug ña jatun, Chai jatunllazito allquitotaca ña chagnacusheami huanuchingapa chaíta micungapa nish; - Allquitotaca huanuchishpa caíta micushun, ¿Imatata ruhuashun? Caíta micushun.

Chaipica shug huiracuchaca shamushca nin, Huiracuchaca chayamun; - ¿Imatata ruhuagringuichi huambas? Caica mana micunachu, ¿Imatata ruhuagringuichi?

Nigpica: - Amto, ñucanchica micugricunchi. Cashna mana imata mana micunata charishpa, mana imata micunata pudishpami caíta ñucanchica huanuchigrichunchi. Ñucanchi huanuchigrishpa huanuchigrichunchi, mana imata micunata pudichunchi.

Nigpica chai huiracuchaca nishca: - Ama huanuchichu, Mana micunachu, Alli ucuta p'ichai, tucuita alli limpiota p'ichai. Llugshishpa mai canshacunaman maipi ri puricugri. Ri puricugri canshacunaman llugshishpa, Tucui ucuta alli p'ichashpa saquishpa ringuichi.

Chaipica entonces huambritucunacaari nishpaca tucuita ucupi p'ichan nin. Lindo ucuta p'ichashpaca rishca nin mai canshacunapi pugllangapa, allquitota cacharish shitashpa mana huanuchishcachu ña. Entonces ña chaipi allquitoca safarin. Paicuna shamugpica granoca nin, ima trigo nin, ima sara nin, ima cebadita nin, tucui laya granoca, tucui laya granoca ucu junda chaica ashun tupan.

Mama yayacuna shamun nin hojitas de borbolinta paicunapish ashallitollata tarishpa shamushca. Mana achcataca, ashallitollata tarish shamushca. Chaica ña ashun cushilla taririncuna nin. Ña ashun ucu junda granohuan tupan nin ashun huahuacunaca. Ñuca taita Diosito bendiciashca: - Ñuca ñami bendiciagrini, anchuringuichi caimanta.

Chaica ña cai mundo granoca ucu junda, tucui laya grano ucu junda tupan huahuacunaca ashun. Mama yayaca shamun, ashallitollata ucu pobrezata tarishpa. Chaica pero ima mundo granohuan ashun huasipica tupan huahuacunaca. Chaica ña ashun mantención, achca mantención tupan huahuacunaca. Taita Diosito bendiciashca, chai huiracuchaca taita Dios cashca, bendiciashca huahuacunamanca. Chaillami.

How God's blessing was given

Nowadays those of us who have nothing have nothing. Only the rich people have. In the old days it is said that there was no grain; grain didn't grow. Of course the rich people had something, but the poor had nothing. There were then just two children. They were very hungry and had nothing to eat. Their parents were in the same situation, so one day they said they were going to look for turnip leaves. Those turnip leaves grew in abundance who knows where, but they grew in a field which was as well guarded as a field of potatoes. Well, so the parents went to fetch turnip leaves.

Just the two brothers stayed at home together. They had nothing to eat and wept and sobbed with hunger. Then a little white dog arrived. When nobody gave it any food, it too began to cry. The dog went in and out of the house along with the children. And what did the children do?

The older and bigger of the two trussed the dog in order to kill and eat it, saying: "Let's kill and eat the little dog. What else can we do? Let's eat this."

Then a white man came by and said: "What are you about to do, children? This is not food. What are you going to do?"

When he said that, they replied: "Master, we are going to eat it. Because we have nothing else to eat we are going to kill this dog. We have nothing else to eat."

When they had spoken, the white man said: "Don't kill the dog. It isn't food. Sweep the house well and then go away from it. Leave the house and go for a walk outside. Sweep the house well and go from it leaving it clean."

The children obeyed and swept the house thoroughly. Then they went away outside to play, and set the dog free without killing it. Then the little dog ran off. When they came home they found the house filled with grain of all kinds: wheat, maize, barley, all kinds of grain.

Then the parents came home having found just a very few turnip leaves. And they found their children very happy. For the children had found the room filled with grain. God had blessed them, saying: "Now I am going to give my blessing. You go away meanwhile."

And then the children found the house to be filled with grain. The parents came home having found a meagre supply of food. But the children found a great pile of grain in the house. They found they had a lot of food to keep them alive. God had blessed them. For that white man had been God and he had blessed the children. That's all.

Informant: MC, 9th December, 1976

| | |
|----------|--------------------------------|
| D42 | God in guise of mortal |
| K1811 | Gods in disguise visit mortals |
| C221.14 | Tabu: eating dog |
| Z142 | Symbolic colour: white |
| A182.2.3 | God blesses mortal |
| Q51 | Kindness to animals rewarded |
| Q66 | Humility rewarded |
| Q110 | Material rewards |

Tale 36: Diablocunahuan taita Dioshuan

Chai taita Diosta c'atircacuna huañuchingapa. Taita Diosta huañuchishpa pambarcacuna shug jatun rumita alzashta nunca nunca ama llugshichun. Taita Diospa chai c'uyana gallo mishicuta pelashpa micucurocuna shug uyansa Carnaval nishca ruhuash. Chai uyansa Carnaval nishca ruhuashpa gallo mishicu ña mesapi tiyarea. Ña micugricurcuna. Taita Dios Acensión punsha nishca cieloman rigpi gallo mishicu causarirca. Quimsa cutin cantarea y chaimanta nirca: - C'ari cani - nishpa. Y chai diablocunaca chashna chaica saquirirca, paicunapa gustohuan mana pagtarca.

Chaimanta taita Dios causarishpa rishpa nirca: - Taita Diosta micushunchi. Taita Diosca mana micug carea. Taita Diosca nirca entonces: - Cancuna ñucata micunguichipish ñuca charini shug sumaimana haciendata. Chaita cancunaman herenciata saquish jacuchi ricunguichi - nishpa. Chai diablocunaca cushillito rirca mana taita Diosta cutishpa micungapa.

Entonces cada uno cuartota japirca chai semejante jaganicug ucuta. Chai jaganicug ucupi entonces huichearircacuna cunan punshacama condenarish causancuna. Chaimi,

The devils and God

They were chasing God in order to kill him. Having killed him they buried him behind a large stone so that he might never get out. Then they plucked that *gallo mishicu* that loved God in a feast called Carnival. The *gallo mishicu* was on the table during the Carnival feast and they were going to eat it. On Ascension Day as God was going up to heaven the *gallo mishicu* came back to life. It crowed three times and then said: "I am a man."

Then those devils were left like that for it didn't satisfy their taste,

Then when God came back to life they said: "Let's eat God."

But God wasn't eaten. Instead, he said to the devils: "Even if you eat me, I have a beautiful *hacienda*. I shall leave it to you as an inheritance. Let's go, so you can see it."

So the devils went along very happily and didn't chase God in order to eat him. Then each of them took a room inside where everything was shining brightly. They were shut up in those shining rooms and there they live condemned to this day. That's it.

Informant: JSA, 30th January, 1977

- G303.25.17 The devil's dances and feasts
- A1751 The devil's animals and God's
- D101 Transformation: god to animal
- E168.1 Roasted cock comes to life and crows
- V30.1 The eaten god
- K550 Escape by false plea. A captive makes a request or promises an action that permits him eventually to escape
- G303.8.3.1 Devil is thrust into hell by God
- A177.1 God as trickster
- F166.1 Treasure in otherworld

Tale 37: Causarishca gallomanta

Chaicunaca (chai Judio runacuna o nincuna cucucuna) Jesusta pambashca qu'ipa fiestata ruhuashcacuna nin tucui laya micuita ruhuashpa. Sumag micuita ruhuashpa micucuncuna nin: - Cunanca chai brujo runata ña huañuchircanchimi, pambarcanchimi. Cunan ñucanchi fiestata ruhuashun - nishpa.

Carnavaltá ruhuacuncuna nin.

Carnavaltá ruhuacugpica ña Jesus causarishpa yachashca nin paicuna micunata micucugta. Paicuna micunata micucushcacuna nin huallpacunata pelashpa, gallocunata. Chaita pelash micucush, tucui laya gallota pelash, ultimotaca mishicutapish pelash nishca nin. Chaimanta Jesus chaita yachashpa cachashca nin shug iñuta chaipi chai gallo mishicu pelashca chayashpa tispichun.

Chaipi gallota iñu tispigpica causarina nin galloca. 'C'atag' nish pambapi siririna nin galloca. Chaipica: - Chai brujo runa causarishcami - nish mancharish jatarishpa rincuna nin. Ricungapa rirca, Mana tarircacuna,

The cockerel that came back to life

Those men (the Jews or devils as they are called) prepared all kinds of food and gave a feast after they had buried Jesus. They prepared a delicious meal, saying: "Now we have killed that witch and buried him. Now let's have a feast."

So they held the feast of Carnival.

As they were holding the Carnival feast, Jesus came back to life and learned that they were eating a meal. They had plucked and drawn chickens and all kinds of cockerel for the meal that they were eating. And finally they had also plucked and drawn the *gallo mishicu*. When Jesus learned this, he sent a tick to pinch the bird that had been skinned.

When the tick pinched the cockerel, the bird came back to life with a squawk, and lay on the floor. Then the devils said: "That witch has come back to life."

And, afraid, they got up and went to see. But they did not find Jesus.

Informant: GGG, 28th October, 1976

some as for Tale 36, plus:

| | |
|-------------|---------------------------|
| G303.3.1.15 | Devil appears as a Jew |
| B291 | Animal as messenger |
| E18 | Resuscitation by tickling |
| B515 | Resuscitation by animal |

Commentary

1.0 Introduction

These tales belong to a widespread cycle of oral narratives in the Andes concerning the life of Christ. Many of the motifs the cycle contains can be traced to the Apocryphal gospels, and no doubt arrived in this area via missionaries and other outside sources of influence. However, the tradition seems to be longstanding enough to have taken on specifically regional characteristics, and the reworking of the cycle over the years has produced many idiosyncracies explicable in terms of its indian milieu.

The word 'cycle' is the key to explaining a certain shift of emphasis which occurs in the approach to the analysis of these tales. By it I mean a lengthy episodic tale which may be told as a whole, or be broken down into its various component parts, or moves, which could then be told as independent tales in their own right. This is in contrast with the series of separate folktales and legends with underlying structural similarities of which Section A was made up. The 'Fox and Rabbit' tales of Section C are also treated as a cycle. In such a case, the breakdown of tales into episodes demands immediate textual comparison with other versions from the same cycle. Thus it is that content and comparative analyses are made before turning to structural considerations, rather than vice versa as hitherto has been the case. The comparative approach is twofold: firstly in the context of contemporary Andean material, secondly in the historical context of the Indo-European sources to which certain episodes may be traced.

2.0 Comparison of episodes in Ecuadorean Andean tradition

The tales to be compared with regard to the linear sequence of

episodes they contain are divided into two groups; the Cañar tales; 33, 34, 34a (not presented here as it was collected in note form), 35, 36, and 37; the comparative tales from elsewhere in Ecuador; GS/CA/5: "*Jatun Dios purishcamanta*", LS/CH: "The life of Christ", Version 1, GS/CO/4: "*Ñaupa taitamito purishcamanta*", GS/SA/3: "*Señor Jesus ñaupa tiempo purishcamanta*", HD/SA/13: "The life of Jesus", JC/IM/1: "*Imashna Jisu Cristuca japishoa ayacuna*" , JC/IM/11: "*San Pablo cucha parlu*", and Parsons's "The Jesus Child lays a curse" (1945:146). What now follows is an index of the sum total of episodes appearing in the Ecuadorean material, showing their distribution.

2.1 Index of episodes

I Conception, pregnancy and birth

1. Joseph chosen as worthiest suitor
34, 34a (identified when rose sprouts from his staff)
LS/CH
2. Joseph throws lily onto Mary's chest
33, 34
LS/CH (throws roses)
3. Mary inexplicably pregnant
33, 34, 34a (pregnancy discovered when child kicks in womb)
LS/CH
4. Joseph angered by Mary's pregnancy
33, 34, 34a
LS/CH
5. Unborn Christ Child (CC) reveals his identity to Joseph in dream
33, 34, 34a (Angel appears in dream)
LS/CH (Angel appears in dream)
6. Animals visit new-born CC and are blessed or cursed according to their behaviour
33, 34a (shepherds and 3 Kings also visit)
LS/CH (3 Kings only visit)

II Infancy

7. CC removes parts of playmates' bodies for use as toys
LS/CH
8. CC turns cement to mud then back to powder
33

9. Kills then revives baby chicks
33

10. Cuts up beams then restores them
33

III Adulthood and pursuit by devil-Jews

11. Disguised as white man blesses poor household
35
LS/CH, GS/CA/5, JC/IM/11 (disguised as beggar in these three texts)
12. Turns inhospitable whites into pigs
34
LS/CH, GS/CA/5, Parsons
13. Causes inhospitable whites to die in earthquake
LS/CH, JC/IM/11 (causes flood)
14. Turns into cotton tree
33
15. Turns into cockerel
33
GS/CA/5, GS/CO/4, HD/SA/13
16. Rewards respect by making barley ripen overnight
33, 34, 34a (makes wheat ripen)
LS/CH (also ripens beans), GS/CA/5, HD/SA/13, JC/IM/11 (wheat)
17. 'Devils' told he passed by on day of sowing
33, 34 (one of devils deformed), 34a (one of devils deformed)
LS/CH, GS/CA/5, HD/SA/13
18. Punishes disrespect by turning potatoes to stones
33 (wheat grains to stones), 34 (barley), 34a
LS/CH, GS/CA/5 (barley), GS/CO/4, HD/SA/13, JC/IM/11 (wheat)
19. 'Obstacle Flight': comb thrown onto road becomes forest in path of devils
LS/CH
20. Hides in field of lupins and curses them for giving away his presence
LS/CH, GS/CA/5 (quinoa plants cursed), GS/CO/4, GS/SA/3, HD/SA/13, JC/IM/1.
21. Pregnant female devil among pursuers slips on peas and produces multiple birth, seen by devils as punishment for chasing Christ; peas rewarded with bland flavour
HD/SA/13
22. CC turns into sheep
34a (and is herded by parents)
LS/CH (enters sheep's stomach), GS/CA/5, GS/CO/4 (enters sheep's stomach), JC/IM/1 (hides in sheep)
23. Enters calabash that protects him, blesses it
LS/CH, GS/SA/3, HD/SA/13

IV Capture, death and resurrection

24. Captured by devil-Jews
33, (34 and 34a are inconclusive)
LS/CH, GS/CO/4 (captured by devils when in form of white cockerel which they buy), HD/SA/13 (caught while hiding in calabash)
25. Blindfolded, beaten, and made to guess identity of tormentors
33
LS/CH
26. On way to Calvary leaves imprint of face on Mary Magdalene's handkerchief
33
27. Crucified
33
GS/CO/4 (in addition to death by cooking)
28. Death by cooking
36 (symbolically by cooking of cockerel), 37 (cook cockerel)
LS/CH (symbolised by cooking of cockerel), GS/CO/4 (devils kill and cook cockerel into which Christ has transformed himself),
HD/SA/13 (apparently cook him in human form)
29. Resurrection
36 (God/Christ reincarnated from cooked cockerel), 37 (cockerel revives at same moment as Christ)
LS/CH (cockerel's body reforms and it ascends to heaven), GS/CO/4 (cockerel flaps *ajl* in devils' eyes and ascends to heaven),
HD/SA/13 (Christ turns into cockerel upon resurrection and flaps *ajl* in devils' eyes)
30. Devils afraid, escape into caves or mountain tops
LS/CH, HD/SA/13
31. God tricks devils into being locked up in *hacienda*
36

2.2 Remarks on the 'Index of episodes'

The 'Index of episodes' does not necessarily present those episodes in the order in which they appear in the individual texts. There is in particular some variation in the positioning of Episode 12: "Turns inhospitable whites into pigs", and the Parsons text is a single episodic narrative which elaborates this episode in isolation. There is also variation in the respective blessing and cursing of the sowers (Episodes 16 & 18): the one may occur before the other or vice versa. The blessing of the poor household (Episode 11) may also vary its

position in the different versions where it appears. On the whole such variations do not significantly alter the meaning of the narrative, but the fact that they occur made it clearer to represent the sum total of episodes by an index, rather than in the form of a table, which would have suggested a uniformity in the sequence and distribution of episodes that does not exist.

The episodes are, up to a point, free-floating motifs belonging to the cycle which may be drawn into or omitted from the tale at the narrator's discretion. However, there is a consistent dividing line between the main sections (numbered I-IV) of the cycle. Episodes 1-6 of part I do not vary in order of appearance, and constitute an integral unit which occurs only in Tales 33, 34a, and LS/CH. Part II is found fully developed only in Tale 33. It is part III that contains the bulk of the motifs, and it is here that some freedom is employed from version to version as to their order of appearance. Episode 15 presents something of an anomaly; it belongs properly to part IV, where it is a part of Episode 28 involving the cooking of Christ prior or subsequent to his transformation into a cockerel. In the case of GS/CO/4, Episode 15 leads straight on to Episode 24, where Christ is bought by the devils while in the form of a cockerel. From this the narrative moves to Episode 28. So it can be seen that the 'Index of episodes' should not necessarily be taken to be a chronological arrangement of these.

The final two episodes in the 'Index' (30 & 31), do correspond to the final episodes of three tales in particular, and lend an interesting aetiological note to the conclusions of those narratives. They offer explanations for the existence down to the present day of devils in caves or mountain tops, and *haciendas* respectively. Although it should be borne in mind that the three tales (LS/CH, HD/SA/13, and Tale 36) come from different culture areas within the *sierra*, it may still be

reasonable to add this apparent structural equivalence between devil as inhabitant of caves and mountains, and devil as inhabitant of deserted *haciendas*, to my argument developed in Section A (b) that such variations may be considered to be transformations of each other in traditional narrative.

A last remark should be made in connection with the theme of reward and punishment for hospitality or the lack of it as it is dealt with in the tales: one of the episodes that explores this theme is that in which God disguised as a beggar punishes the inhospitable by causing a natural disaster (flood/earthquake). This episode forms a part of the cycle often found quite separate from the context of Christ's adventures as he is pursued by the devils. The flood inflicted by Christ as punishment for lack of hospitality is usually offered as an explanation for the origin of a local lake. Further examples are to be found in Parsons's: "The origin of the Laguna de San Pablo" (op.cit. 130), and in GS/AG/1: "*Yahuar cuchamanda*", in which a *hacienda* is flooded. For Peruvian examples see Morote Best (1953a). Tale 35 of this collection no doubt derives from this part of the cycle.

A comparison between the tales at my disposal, assisted by the 'Index', shows that LS/CH is the most complete of the texts (containing 22 episodes). Tale 33 is the second most complete (17 episodes), but does not include Episode 28: "Death by cooking", and episodes that follow it. Instead these are represented for Cañar by a separate text from a different informant. Likewise, Episode 11: "Disguised as white man/beggar blesses poor household" forms part of LS/CH, but in Cañar again constitutes a text on its own, not immediately recognizable, if taken out of context, as part of the cycle. Thus the LS/CH text, although it comes from a different culture area, can be used as a valuable yardstick against which to measure my own less cohesive material, and argue quite viably that the diverse Cañar texts

belong to one and the same traditional cycle,

3.0 Comparative analysis

3.1 The Spanish American area

Stark has discussed comparative versions from Central America and from elsewhere in the Andes (1976). These include a version from Huaraz, Peru (Pantoja Ramos (1974, II:431-435, 445)), an Ixil version from Guatemala included in Shaw's collection (1972:111), another Mayan variant from British Honduras (Thompson J. (1930:161-162)), and a New Mexican version to be found in Espinosa J. (1937). To these could be added a further Central American version from Chichicastenango (Tax (1949)), a Peruvian tale of Christ as trickster being pursued by *supay* and containing many of the same episodes as the Ecuadorean material (*Allpanchi's Phuturinga*, II:23), and Guevara's account in his article on Ecuadorean aetiological traditions (1954:61-63).

3.2 The Indo-European sources

It is possible to trace several of the episodes and motifs in the Cañar and other versions back to the Apocryphal gospels, and to late medieval European legends deriving from them. I will not venture to discuss paths of diffusion, but simply offer examples of such sources. The episodes occurring during the infancy and childhood of Christ relate in particular to sections of the Protevangelium of James, the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, the Gospel of Thomas, and the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy of the Saviour, all of which are contained in The Ante-Nicene Christian Library (ANCL), (1867, Roberts and Donaldson eds.). Summaries of them are also to be found in James's Apocryphal New Testament (1953). The incident of the resuscitation of the cock as a sign of the Resurrection is found in the Gospel of Nicodemus, also included in the above-mentioned works. Many other authors have compiled

summaries and commentaries on the Apocrypha, and also reproduce some of the popular legends derived from them. (1)

I shall now point out those motifs found in the Ecuadorean branch of the cycle which can be most readily traced to such sources. For simplicity's sake I shall confine most of the references to James (op. cit.), The numbers refer to the 'Index of episodes':

1. Joseph's rod: James 42 (Protevangelium)
4. Joseph angered by Mary's pregnancy: James 44 (Protevangelium)
6. Adoration of animals: James 75 (Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew)
Cursing of certain animals: Rappoport 51-53 (cites Krauss 1883, II: 121ff.) (popular legend)
10. Christ restores beams: James 52-53 (Gospel of Thomas - where Child adjusts length of beams Joseph has cut incorrectly)
12. Turns children into pigs: James 68 (refers to Budge op. cit.), see also ANCL, XVI:119 (Arabic Gospel of the Infancy). In both versions the children are turned into goats. (2)
16. Makes barley ripen: Gaer 62-63 (popular legend: "At that moment they saw a labourer sowing wheat in a field along the road. The child Jesus picked up a handful of the seed and threw it by the wayside. Instantly it grew before their eyes and ripened, ready for reaping. In this tall wheat Joseph and his family hid themselves. Soon Herod's men came by and asked the farmer: "Have you seen a woman pass here carrying a child in her arms?" "Yes," said the farmer, "I saw her as I was sowing the wheat." "The wheat is growing and ripening," said Herod's henchmen, "It must have been sown many months ago." And they went away."
29. Resurrection of cock: James 116 (Gospel of Nicodemus - Judas's wife speaks to him as follows just before he goes to hang himself: "Say not nor think not so: for as well as this cock that is roasting on the fire of coals can crow, just so well shall Jesus rise again, as thou sayest." And immediately at her word that cock spread his wings and crowed thrice. Then was Judas yet more convinced, and straightway made the halter of rope and hanged himself."

4.0 Structural considerations: the place of the Christ Child cycle in Andean narrative

So far I have considered the cycle at the level of content, in particular with regard to the motifs it contains, and much historical and comparative work may be done on tales like these with such an evident debt to popular Indo-European sources. However, some explan-

ation for their initial appeal and lasting popularity among the Quechua peoples should be sought. This explanation would be expected to be found at the level of structure, rather than one based on affinities at the level of content. Indeed there are certain features in the pattern and underlying structure of the tales that are compatible with that of Andean myth of more indigenous content.

The first example for comparison is taken from Francisco de Avila's collection: "*Como sucedio Cuniraya Viracocha en su tiempo y como Cahuillaca pario a su hijo y lo que passo*" describes the impregnation of the virginal Cavillaca by the culture hero, Cuniraya Viracocha, and the latter's pursuit of the former when she escapes with her child (1966:23-29). The pursuit sequence contains various elements of interest to the present discussion; Cuniraya, we are told, wandered the earth in the guise of a ragged beggar whom nobody wanted - reminiscent of the present-day tales in which the same rôle is adopted by the Christ figure. Here, however, the culture hero is the one who is in pursuit, whereas in the Christ stories he is being pursued. In structural terms this can be regarded as an inversion in the pattern, rather than a deviation from it. The journey/pursuit sequence includes a 'question and answer' routine, which takes place between the hero and various animals that he encounters along the way. Those that help him towards the whereabouts of his mistress are blessed; those that do not are cursed.(3) The similarity in pattern of the Christ Child's treatment of those who respond favourably, and vice versa, is strong enough to suggest that these already existing patterns may have helped the adoption of compatible material. The structural similarities between the two myths can be extracted as follows:

| Function | 16C Peruvian myth: "Cuniraya Viracocha" | 20C Ecuadorean myth: "Niño Jesusmanta" |
|--------------------------|--|--|
| miraculous conception | by eating fruit | from flower thrown onto her breast |
| fatherhood revealed | child points out his 'beggar' father | child speaks while still in womb |
| pursuit | hero <u>pursues</u> heroine | hero <u>pursued</u> by devils |
| question/ answer | hero blesses animals who answer favourably - curses those that don't | hero blesses courteous, curses discourteous |

The second example comes from contemporary versions of origin myths from the Andean area reproduced and interpreted by Ortiz Rescanière (1973), who sets out to show similarities of structure and theme between myths that vary widely in historical and geographical source. The structural pattern most common to Peruvian origin myths is that whereby a first creator fathers a son, often of semi-divine, semi-human parentage, who sets about destroying the first creation and creating a new one. Some of the best known are also discussed by Mishkin (1940). Among Ortiz Rescanière's material is an Aymara myth "Supaya", in which the original creator figure in the pattern is given the name 'Jesucristo' and his son is Supaya (op.cit.24-26). An almost identical variant is to be found in Cáceres Olazo (1970:23), attributed to Isidro Rojas of Llavini, Puno. The son stands for all that is bad, thus bringing the notion of morals into play. Jesucristo is poor and ragged, his son is rich, so the myth describes an opposition between father and son, rich and poor, good and bad. This conflict is expressed in a series of episodes in which Jesucristo outwits the scheming Supaya, and it is here that a pattern emerges that I find comparable with the Christ Child cycle in Ecuador: Supaya fills the rôle of dupe in episodes which include the crop-ripening, and the hiding in the sheep's stomach to avoid capture. I would venture that traditional narrative structures included this mythological trickster sequence, enacted

between two figures of a former creation, and onto this pattern have been grafted features of content introduced from popularized Catholic lore.

4.1 The Christ Child cycle in the context of the corpus as a whole

There remains to point out that the tales of the Christ Child are not entirely isolable from the other material of the collection. No classification system for folktales should be held to be watertight, and there are points of comparison to be made both at the levels of structure and of content.

To take the latter first: perhaps the most obvious motif common to this and to the Section A legends is that of the *gallo mishiou*. In Tale 33, the devils are put off the scent by Christ's transformation into cockerel, upon which they remark: "*Chai'ca mana ñucanohipachu, mana ñucanohipachu*". ("That cockerel is not ours") Thus it is demonstrated again that where the narrative context is appropriate, the same formulae are called for over and over again, regardless of tale type. The narrative context at this point calls for the outwitting of devils by the hero; the traditional cockerel device is introduced by the hero's self-transformation. The identification of Jews with devils makes possible the inclusion of other motifs more commonly found in the devil legend type. The pursuers are led by one devil who is '*suchu*' or '*huishtu*'; the crippled devil of local lore. Moreover, they smell out their quarry, another attribute we have seen to be typical.

Still in connection with Section A tales, certain thematic links suggest themselves between Tale 35 and those devil legends that involve child heroes who leave home and come into contact with a non-human agent that results in good fortune, namely such tales as 12, 25, 26, and GS/CA/14, all of which combine A-T327A with the devil-legend pattern. They commonly relate the rejection of children from a home where food

is inadequate, their encounter outside the home with the non-human agent leads to the resolution of this lack. In Tale 35 also, contrast is drawn between lack and plenty, but this time the children remain at home while the parents set out on a journey. Whilst at home a non-human agent, namely 'taita Diosito', visits them, and they are blessed with miraculous grain. The pattern of Tale 35 could be seen in part as a structural inversion of that of the Section A tales to which I referred:

| <u>Tale 35</u> | <u>Tales 12, 25, 26, GS/CA/14</u> |
|--|--|
| lack of food parents set out non-human agent enters home | food denied children set out non-human agent encountered away from home |
| contact leads to good fortune | |

There would appear to be a connection at the structural level between Tale 35 and popular customs and beliefs surrounding Taita Carnaval. He is thought to inhabit the hills, and only comes down to visit the homes of people on the Monday and Tuesday of Carnaval. During this period a table is kept prepared in a room which has been well swept, with all the foods he likes. (4) Should he visit the house good luck will be with the family for the coming year, but the room must be left empty or it is thought he will not visit. My suggestion is that there is a common underlying structure between this set of customs, and Tale 35 in which the God figure instructs the heroes to prepare the house then absent themselves from it whilst the blessing is bestowed. At the same time the theme of the benefactor who blesses the impoverished household is found elsewhere in the Christ Child cycle (see Episode 11 of the 'Index of episodes'), and Tale 35 is also linked to that.

Finally, a few points at which these tales link also with the fox

and rabbit cycle: Tale 36 contains some interesting reminiscences in both theme and form of that group of texts, and also of Section A. God as trickster, about to be eaten by the devils, employs a device common to the fox and rabbit tales whereby he offers his pursuers a better deal in order to evade capture. Not only is the method of deception reminiscent, but the pattern of the dialogue is structurally almost identical. Just compare the following two extracts:

Tale 38: Conejohuan atughuan

" - *Buzno tlo, micunguipish ima ruhuanguipish shug huallpata pagasha, shug pavohuan shug huallpahuan - nina nin.*"

" "Well, uncle, even if you eat me or whatever you do, I shall give you a chicken and a turkey"."

Tale 36: Diablocunahuan taita Dioshuan

" - *Cancuna ñucata micunguipish ñuca charini shug sumaimana haciendata. Chaita cancunaman herenciata saquish jacuchi ricunguichi.*" "

" "Even if you eat me, I have a beautiful *hacienda* and I shall leave it to you as an inheritance. Let's go, so you can see it."

As has already been noted in Section A, Tale 36 also provides us with an aetiological hint as to how deserted *haciendas* came to be the domain of devils and buried treasure. Thus, many points of contact can be made out between the Christ Child tales and other areas of the corpus.

FOOTNOTES

(1) eg. Hone (1820), Wallis Budge (1899), Donehoo (1903), Dähnhardt (1909), Rappoport (1934), Gaer (1952), and Ballou (1972).

(2) The Gospel of Thomas contains many episodes in which the Christ Child displays a malicious nature, but is always miraculously able to right the wrongs he causes; in the Cañar cycle he acts in character, although it has not been possible to trace each episode to an exact possible source.

(3) See also Trimborn (1952) on cursing of animals in the Huarochiri myth.

(4) See Appendix I for further details; Fock corroborates this and provides further details (Fock and Krener 1977b:4)

CHAPTER 5

Section C: Animal Tales

Sub-section (a): The fox and rabbit trickster cycle

Texts

Tale 38: *Atughuan conejohuan*

Ricungui: conejo puricushca nin shug huerta ladota. Chai conejoca entonces juin dañushca huertata haciendapi. Chai conejoca purishca purishca, puchca, haciendapi shug huerta dañushca. Chaipica dueñoca nishca: -¿Imata micun cai huertataca? Dueñoca chai mayoralchu ima o huasicamacahu cashca. Nishca entonces conejota japishpa presushca conejotaca. Chaica ña japi tucushca conejitoca tugllapi. Chaica ña tugllapi tiyacushca nin ña conejotaca huanuchingapa dueñocunaca.

Chaipica ña atugca puricushca nin ladopi. Conejoca nishca nin: - Tlo, tlo, shamui cazarangui. Ñucatami japin cazarachun - nishca nin. Atugca nishcami: - Sobrino huambra, ñucata imata nin risha uyangapa - nishca nin.

Chaipi entonces rishca ña tloca.

- Tlo, ñucaca yalli uchillami cani, canmi jatun cangui. Cazarai - nishca nin.

- Ari, sobrino huambra, ñucaca cazarasha. Entonces canca llugshiri - nishca nin.

Tugllapi yaicuna nin atug.

Chaimantaca atug ña yaicun ña conejoca ladoyashpa shamushca. Entonces ña atugca chaipi saquirin tugllapi. Chaimantaca entonces ña dueñoca fierrota cusacushca nin. Chaica fierrota cusashpaca ña fierrota siquipi satishca nin atugta. Atugca nishca nin: - Cazarashallmi, cazarashallami - nishca nin.

Chaimantaca ña fierrota siquipi satigpica ña rishca nin dueñoca. Chaipi huanush siricuna nin atugca.

Chaimantaca entonces unaipi causarish siquillahuan siquillahuan aisarishca shug yacu jundupi cangapa chai atugca. Siquipi fierrotaca chugpillapi satishca. Chaica rishca ishcai punzhata cashca, yacupi satishpa siricushca. Y cutin ña causarishca atugca. Nishca conejotaca: - Bueno, sobrino huambra, cunan japishpaca micushami. ¿Imapata llullan, imapata cazarachisha nishpa llullan?

Entonces ña puricuna nin puricuna nin.

Conejoca tiyacuna nin shug jatun rumi machaipi chai ucupi. Chaipi entonces atugca chayanalla nin. Chaipi nishca nin: - Sobrino huambra, ¿imapata llullarcangui? Cunan micushami. Cazarachisha nircangui, ¿imapata llullarcangui? Cunan micushami.

Chaimanta nishca nin: - Tlo, micunguipish cai rumi tigrashpaca tucui mundo enteromi tigranga. Cai rumita charinacui, tlo.

- Ari, sobrino huambra - nishpaca cashna charicuna nin jaitarish shug rumita.

Chaica: - Tlo, canca charicui, ñuca rini shug caspita p'itimungapa, Rina nin ña.

Chaimantaca shug sapota rogana nin machetehuan 'taj taj' nieuchun. Sapoca nicuna nin 'taj taj taj'. Entonces tlo atugca nina nin: - Bueno, sobrino huambraca p'iticunmi. Ari, ari p'iticunmi. Ciertotami rumi

tigragrioun.

Chaimantaca entonces ña unai nin ña, casi tuoui punzha charicunlla runitaca chaparashca. Ña tuoui punzha 'taj' nicun nin, tuoui punzha, Pero ña conejoca, sobrinoca, largarishca maita. Y sapolla ña manchu 'taj taj' ninatayachashca, Chaica 'taj' nicun tuopi punzha.

Chaica tardeyamugpi ña huigsa yareai japigpica rina nin ña callparash. Rumica shinallata tiyacuna nin. Chaimantaca ricugrina sapo 'taj taj' nicun nin. ¿Maipi maitami rirca conejoca? Chaimantaca nina nin: - Bueno, cunancari micunimi. ¿Imapa llullan? Caitapish llullan, ña ishcaipi ña. Cunancari micunimi.

Chaimantaca ña puricuna nin, puricuna nin atugca cutinllata japisha nish. Ña maipi shug shulla ucupi, shulla ucupi tiyacuna nin conejoca. Chaipica: - Cunancari ña japish micunimi ña cunancari. - Bueno, tlo, micunguipish ima ruhuanguipish shug huallpata pagasha, shug pavohuan shug huallpahuan - nina nin. - Ari, sobrino huambra entonces chaíta paganguí entonces que mana micusha.

Chaimanta entonces rina nin shug huallpata amungapa, shug pavota, pero llullashpalla. Chashna bolsapi amuna nin jatun casha marucha nin. Chaica chai atugta nina nin: - Chimba chimbapi micugri. Caipica dueñocuna c'atimushpaca canta huañuchingami. Nishpaca entonces atugmanca apachish cachana nin - Caipica pavo huallpa tuuimi - nishpa. Chaimanta atugca aparish rina nin.

Chaimantaca: - Ayau! ayau! pavo shillu! ayau! ayau! huallpa shillu! - nish ricuna nin. Juin tugsicushcanga manchu cashacuna. Shug huaicupi chayashpaca 'zas' cacharish shitana nin. Chaíta pascan nin 'zas' entonces que atingami, 'zas' maqui satishpa japina nin. Chaipica entonces que t'uluta pascana nin, maquita satina nin cashapi. Libre pambarina nin maita. Imata huallpa ni pavo canga, solo casha marucha. Chaimantaca: - Jesus, sobrino huambra, ¿caitachu ruhuanga ñucataca? Imata ruhuani, cunancari micunimi - nish chaipi shitash rina nin cashataca.

Chaimantaca cutin ña puricuna nin cutin puricuna puricuna, Maipicha shug shullashca ucupica puricuna nin. Chaipi tiyacuna nin conejotaca cutin japina nin tloca sobrinotaca. Atugca tlo manchu y conejoca sobrino, Chaimanta tiyacuna nin. Ña p'ucha cunancari ña japina nin conejotaca micungapa ña.

- Bueno, tlo, micunguipish ima ruhuanguipish, ricushun shimita ña micushca pavo huallpa.

Chaimantaca nishca: - Sobrino cunan micugrinimi.

Entonces tlotaca nishca conejoca: - Ricushun quiru siquicunapi tiyacungami aicha.

Nishpaca entonces: - Ari nishca nin.

Chaimanta conejoca saltash shimipi yaicushpa chunzhullita polvushpa siqui jutcuta llugshirishca nin.

Conejo cutin puricuna nin ña. Ña sachá ucucunapi shina ña chingarishpa: - Cunancari ña largarigrinimi maita. Mana japi tucushachu - nishpa. Cunanca cushilla purina nin ña unapi, casi shug ocho días o quince días cana nin ña conejoca. Chaimanta puricushpallata ña tloca tarina nin sobrinotaca. Chaimantaca nishca nin: - Cunancari ña mana quishpinguichu. Cunancari micushami. Micushami cunancari. Al fin ña tucuita engaanguí.

Chaimanta nin: - Tlo, bueno, micunguipish cunanca pagasha shug ovejata, Ovejaca canmanca pagasha ñucata micungapa. Ñuca uchilla cani - nin ña -, ovejaca jatun. Chaihuanca huigsa pagtanguimi - nina nin, - Ña, ari, sobrino huambra - nishca nin. - Cunan ña cacharish cachashari, rishari - nishpa rina nin -, bueno, tlo, canca ura ura huacupi chapangui, ñucaca jahua jahumanta cacharish cachasha ovejataca. Chaparangui, chaimantaca japinguillami - nina nin.

Chaimantaca ña sobrino huambra entonces jatun chai estado rumipi carata pilluna nin oveja ruhuash. Chaimantaca nina nin: - Tlo, tlo, tlo, chapangui, chapangui. Oveja rin, oveja rin - nishca nin. Chaimantaca: - Ari, sobrino huambra - nish changata pascashpa chapana nin jarcashpa.

Singushishpa cachana nin shug quinraimanta. - Tlo, tlo, chapangui, chapangui. Oveja rin, oveja rin.

Imata oveja canga! Jatun rumihuan carapi pillush tucui polvushpa llapchinacushpa rina nin tlotaca. Chaipish ña pasan. Bueno, cutin ña ladiyarin conejito shinash rin. Causarinallata nin ña tloca.

Puricuna nin, puricuna nin. Cutin shinallata ña unai nin cunancari causarishca nin tloca. Chaimantaca entonces puricuna nin conejoca. - Cunancari ña micungapa micushami. Imapata engañan ña cuantas veces. Ña cunancari - nishca nin.

Ña japishca nin conejota ña, sobrinota. - Cunancari ña micunimi, cunancari micunimi.

- Bueno, tlo, micunguipish ima ruhuanguipish, ña jatun pozo ruhuanaqui. Cai pozo llugshishpaca tucui juicio enteromi tigranga. Entonces ña pozota ruhuanaqui, caita libre corrichish cachangapa yallimana pozo. Tloca ayudana nin semejante pozo ruhuanaata. Tucui libre semejante pozo chaica ayudacuna nin. Chaimantaca entonces ña sobrinoca nina nin;

- Bueno, ri tlo ura sanjapi changata pascashpa jarcagri cai yacuta pasachishpaca ña salvarishunmi ñucanchica. Mana cashpaca mana salvarishunchu.

Entonces ña tlotaca cachana nin ura sanja pataman.

Zanja patapi ña oachashpaca nina nin: - Tlo chapangui, chapangui, yacuta pasachishpa cachangui - nish.

Chaparash shayacuna nin changata pascashpa. Chaimantaca entonces ña sobrino cachana nin ña yacutaca 'chambil' nish rina nin yacuca. Ña rish imata jarcanga nin! Tucui libre, tucui polvush, tucui sacha ucucunata polvush, tucui libre polvush, atugtaca aparina nin, pedazashpa. Yacuca imata mai paitaca cazunga yacuca. Ña conejo chaipimi libre rina nin ña, libre ña, chaipi ña, chaipi si safarina nin maita aparirca nin, cosa que montaña ucuta polvushpa. Chaipimi ña conejitocas ña safarish ña vidata charina nin, ña mana micun, vivo.

The fox and the rabbit

Now then: the rabbit was wandering in the kitchen garden of a hacienda, doing great damage to the vegetables. The owner said: "What's raiding the kitchen garden?"

The owner must in fact have been the *mayoral* or a *huasícamo*. Then he caught the rabbit and imprisoned him in a trap. He stayed there in the trap so that the owners might kill him.

Then the fox passed by and the rabbit called to him: "Uncle, uncle, come and get married. I have been caught because they want to marry me off."

The fox replied: "Young nephew, whatever you say, I'm going for a drink."

And he went of his way. But the rabbit called after him: "Uncle, I'm very small and you are big. Get married."

"Very well, young nephew, I shall get married. So you get out of there," And the fox climbed into the trap instead.

So the fox got into the trap and the rabbit made off. There the fox remained in the trap. Then the owner of the orchard heated an iron rod and put it up the fox's backside! The fox all the while thought he was going to get married! "I'm getting married! I'm getting married!" he cried.

But then the owner put the red-hot iron up his backside and went away, leaving the fox dying on the ground.

Then after a long time the fox came to himself and dragged himself along slowly to a pool of water. The hot iron had been pushed right up inside him. So he went into the water and lay down in it for two days. Then he revived and said to the rabbit: "Well, young nephew, when I catch you I shall eat you. Why did you lie, saying that you wanted to get me married?"

So they went their ways.

Then one day the rabbit was standing in the hollow beneath a big rock. The fox was due to arrive any minute. Then he came by and said:

"Young nephew, what did you lie for? Now indeed I shall eat you. You said you wanted to get me married. What did you lie for? Now I shall eat you."

Then the rabbit said: "Uncle, even if you eat me, when this rock topples over the whole world will turn upside down. Help me to hold up the rock, uncle."

"Yes, young nephew," he said, and so held up the rock to prevent it from falling.

"Uncle," said the rabbit, "you hold the rock up and I'll go and chop some sticks," and off he went.

Then the rabbit asked a frog to make a chopping sound with his *machete*. The frog obliged, and so the fox said to himself: "Well, my young nephew is chopping wood. Yes, he's chopping. So it must be true that the stone is going to topple over."

So then a long time passed. The fox held the stone up and watched out nearly all day. All day the 'chop chop' sound was heard. But the rabbit had already cleared off. And it was the frog that was making the chopping sound, wasn't it? He went 'chop chop chop' all day.

Then as it grew late and the fox got hungry he made off at a run. But the rock remained just the same. Then he went to look and saw it was the frog making the chopping noise. Where on earth had the rabbit gone? Then the fox said: "Well, now indeed I shall eat him. Why did he lie? This was a lie too. Now he has tricked me twice. Now I shall really eat him."

After that the fox went on his way, wanting yet again to catch the rabbit. Now the rabbit was sitting in the dew-soaked grass. The fox said to him: "Now I shall really catch and eat you."

"Very well, uncle, even if you eat me or whatever you do, I shall give you a turkey and a chicken."

"Yes, young nephew. So if you pay me that I shan't eat you."

So the rabbit went off to bring the chicken and the turkey, but just lying. So he brought a bag filled with great *marucha* thorns. Then he told the fox: "Go over the hill to eat this. The owners of the birds are coming after you and will kill you."

So saying, he sent the fox off carrying the bag and telling him: "Here are the turkey and the chicken."

So the fox carried the bag and went on his way.

As he went he cried: "Ouch! ouch! That must be the turkey claws! Owl owl! Those are the chicken claws!"

The thorns must have been pricking him a lot, mustn't they? Arriving in a river gorge, he freed his load and threw it to the ground. He opened the bag and put his hand inside. He delved his hand right into the thorns. There was no chicken or turkey at all but just *marucha* thorns. Then he cried: "Jesus, that young nephew, has he done this to me? What shall I do? Now I really shall eat him."

So saying he flung the thorns aside and went on his way.

After that now he wandered about for some days. He was walking somewhere in the dew-soaked grass and there he met and caught his nephew the rabbit again. The fox was the uncle, you see, and the rabbit was the nephew. Now this time indeed he caught the rabbit with the intention of eating him.

"Well, uncle," said he, "even if you eat me or whatever you do, let's look inside your mouth to see the bits of turkey and chicken you ate." But the fox insisted: "Nephew, now I am going to eat you."

Then the rabbit said to his uncle: "Let's see if there are any bits of meat still stuck in your teeth."

So the fox opened his mouth and said "Ah."

Then the rabbit jumped into the fox's mouth and, destroying his intestines on the way, came out through his anus.

Again the rabbit was going his way. He took himself deep into the forest saying: "Now I shall go far away somewhere, I shall not be caught."

So now he happily wandered for a long time, around a week or two.

Then just as he was wandering, the uncle found his nephew again. "This time now you shall not escape," he said, "this time I really shall eat you. For you are always deceiving me."

"Very well, uncle. Even if you eat me I shall pay you a sheep. I shall pay you a sheep and then you shall eat me. I am little and the sheep is big. It will satisfy your stomach."

"Yes, nephew," replied the fox.

"Now I shall go, set the sheep free and send it to you. You watch out in the hollow down below. I shall set free the sheep and send it down to you from the top of the hill. Keep a good look out and then just catch it."

So then the young nephew made a 'sheep' by wrapping a large stone that size in a sheepskin. Then he called out: "Uncle, uncle, uncle! Watch out! Watch out! The sheep is on its way! The sheep is on its way!"

"Yes, young nephew," answered the fox as he opened his legs wide, watching out to stop the sheep. The rabbit sent the 'sheep' rolling down the slope.

"Uncle, uncle! Watch out! Watch out! The sheep is on its way! The sheep is on its way!"

As if it was a sheep! The great stone wrapped in a sheepskin rolled down onto the uncle and flattened him. Well that happened too. Then the rabbit made off. The uncle just came to his senses again.

The rabbit went his way. Then again in the same way, the uncle revived after a long time. Then he said: "Now indeed I am out to eat him. Why has he deceived me so many times? Now indeed I'll get him."

So he caught the nephew rabbit: "Now I'm really going to eat you," he said.

"Very well, uncle. Even if you eat me, or whatever you do, help me dig a well just now. If this well bursts the day of judgement will be upon us. So help me make the well and make the water run in this direction. So the uncle helped to make a big well. Then the nephew told him: "Well, uncle, go down into the ditch and stand with your legs apart to guide the water through. In that way we shall be saved. Otherwise we shall not save ourselves."

So he sent the uncle down to stand astride the ditch.

As he sent him down to the ditch he told him: "Watch out, uncle, watch out. Direct the water between your legs."

So he stood with his legs apart keeping a good watch out. Then the nephew sent the water flowing. With a great 'whoosh' it flowed out. And as if the uncle could stand in its path! It flowed out, destroying all the vegetation in its way, and carrying the fox along with it, battering him to bits. As if the water was going to pay him any attention! So then the rabbit ran away, free of the fox. He was carried off who knows where. Then the rabbit escaped with his life, he wasn't eaten.

Informant: JAG, 26th May, 1976

- K842 Dupe persuaded to take prisoner's place in a sack; killed
The trickster keeps shouting that he does not want to go
to heaven (or marry the princess); dupe gladly substitutes
for him
- K711 Deception into entering bag
- K842.3 Tied animal persuades another to take his place
- K1251 Holding up the rock. Trickster makes dupe believe that he
is holding up a great rock and induces him to hold it for
a while
- K567 Escape by pretending to perform errand for captor
- K553.1 "Let me catch you better game." Captured animal pretends to
help captor bring more desirable victim. Escapes
- K550 Escape by false plea. A captive makes a request or proposes
an action that permits him eventually to escape
- K1840 Deception by substitution

Tale 39: Atughuan conejohuan

Shug conejo tiyana entonces, vivisimo conejo. Entonces atugca cana nin: shug o'ari shug huarmi. Entonces atugtaca tratana nin tlo y huarmi atugtaca tla. Es que sonso conejo entonces ña tratarin tiataca. Tratarishpaca entonces ña puri callarin. Tratarishpa puri callarishpaca entonces ñimata pasan? Ña nin shug punzhaca: - Oi, huambra, ñima ruhuacungui? - nina conejotaca.

- Aij, tlo, ñucaca shug lindo huagchutami charini. Pero canca caillapi shayai, ñucaca jahuamanta cachasha singuchish chagnashpami cachasha.

Entonces, ¿imata pasan? Vivo rin jahuapico, Shug oveja carata japin, pillun rumipi. Alli pillush oveja ruhuash chagnash cachan. Atug chaparacuna nin, ima shuti: - Ovejami shamun - nishpa. Rumi pechopi huagdashpaca cosa de que muspachishpa pasarina nin, mana huañuchishpa.

Cunanca rin: - Japishallatami huañuchishpami contentarisha lungutaca, pues mana saquishachu ñuca caita ruhuan ñucata, riqui, casi huañuchin. Entonces ña huambra cuidado purin. Chaimanta nina nin, ima shuti, shug punzhaca tupan. - Y lungu, ¿ima ruhuacungui can caipi? - Aij, tlo, ñucaca caipi, ima shuti, imallitocunataca apacuni tñata yacharecani huachashcata - nish -, chaimi ricuni apash caipi. Aparish cui - nishca nin. Chaipico jundachina nin tucui laya casha; ima shiñan, ima tucui ureu cashata t'ulupi churash. Cai sonsoca aparish rin. Paica entonces libre saquirish entonces.

Cada tugsishcata nin: - Ayau! ayau! Añas shillu! Ayau! Cundur shillu! Ayau! ayau! Sugsu shillu!

Imata sugsu shillu canga! Sino cashacuna, tugsicuna nin lomopica! Chayana nin: - Hija, huabrami tupan. Caica, entonces, japi caita, japi caita entonces. Huabrami cachan imalla ruhuash micuchun - nish. Tña atug pascan nin entonces ña: - Huambra cashashcata ricushun. T'uluta pascan, t'ulupi maqui satin, casha clavarin nin maquipica. - Ay! Huambra fuera! Ña cunan ña mana pasanga, macasha huañuchisha - nishca nin.

Ña capricharin cutin. Huambra cuidado purin nin. Pero tñapamanea rish c'atina nin. Mana ima maipi ima paica cazuna. Chai shug sonso maipi puricushpa imata yacharea.

Entonces ña purin, purin, purin. De repenteca entonces tupanacuna nin. - Ña huambra - nishpa tñallata rabiaria nin - riqui caita ruhuan, pues cunanca japishpaca castigashallami - nishca nin. Nina nin: - Aij, tña, ñucata shamui visitangapa. Shamui visitangui. Entonces jutcupi yaicuna nin. Entonces tña sonsoca cutin conejota japish castigash micungaraicu jutcupi umata satishpa mana llugchi valin. Conejo mujurin paitaca alli uchurishpa shitarina nin.

Paica ña maitacha rirca nin, conejoca rin. Chaipica juin capricharin nin: - Cunanca manata saquishachu. Ima shinaca maipica tupangami - nina nin -, huañuchishallatami.

Chaimanta nina nin: - Canca huañug tucui. C'ayachisha ñucaca huabratashamuchun ricungapa huañushcata. Pero huañug pagta atichinguiman - ña atugta, c'aritaca nina nin -, huañug tucui. Shamuna nin tñota ricungapa huañushcata.

- Ay, tña, vida curi! Tño huañushcashí, huañushcami ninmi. Chaimi shamuni noticiagpi.

- Ari. Chaipi huañushcami siricun. Cunan ricui, sobrino, ¿imata ruhuanguí?

- Mana, tña, huañushca cashpaca supiringami! - nishpashi nin.

The fox and the rabbit

There was once a very crafty rabbit. There were also two foxes; a man fox and a woman fox. These were the rabbit's uncle and aunt. One day the fox met the rabbit and said to him: "Hey, youngster, what are you up to?"

"Oh, uncle," replied the rabbit, "I've got a beautiful lamb for you. You wait here and I'll roll it down from the top of that hill tied by the legs."

And the sly rabbit went to the hilltop. He made a 'sheep' by wrapping a sheepskin well around a stone; then he trussed it up and sent it rolling down the hill. The fox was keeping a lookout, thinking a sheep was coming. But instead the stone hit him full on the chest and knocked him out, although it didn't quite kill him.

After that, the fox determined he would only be happy when he had caught the rascal and killed him. He could not let him do such things to him, why he had nearly been killed! So after that the nephew went about with caution. Then one day the fox met the rabbit; "Well, young 'un, what are you doing here?"

"Oh, uncle fox, here I am carrying along a few little things for my aunt, as I heard she has just given birth. Why don't you take them for me?"

Now the rabbit had filled the sack with all kinds of thorns; *shiñan* thorns, and all the kinds of thorn that one finds in the hills. Now he was free of the burden.

As the uncle walked along, each time the thorns dug him in the back, he cried out: "Ow! Those must be skunk's claws! Ouch! Condor's claws! Ow! ow! Blackbird's claws!"

But of course they weren't blackbird's claws at all, but thorns and spikes that were sticking into him! Well, he arrived home and giving the bag to his wife, he said: "Take this, the young rabbit met me along the way and sends these things for you to eat."

So the aunt opened the bag with the words: "Let's see what he has sent." She opened the sack, put in her hand and the thorns pierced her flesh! "To the devil with that young rabbit! This time he won't get away with it, I'll beat him to death!" she cried, for now she was angry. Again, the rabbit took precautions for a while. But soon he stopped heeding their threats and continued to go to his aunt's house. And the stupid uncle fox didn't realise.

So the rabbit went about his business. Then one day they met up again, rabbit and aunt. Now the aunt herself got angry; "Look what you have done, well now I am going to catch and punish you."

Then the rabbit said to her; "Aunt, come and pay me a visit."

So he disappeared into his burrow. Now the stupid aunt wanted to catch and eat the rabbit in order to punish him. She put her head into the hole after him, and it stuck! The rabbit danced around her, covering her face with chili paste! Then he left her there like that.

After that the rabbit set off again, this time who knows where he went? The aunt fox was angry and declared that she couldn't let the matter pass. "Wherever he is, I'll really kill him this time," she said. Then she said to the uncle; "You lie down and pretend to be dead, and I'll go and call the rabbit to come and pay his last respects. Pretend you're dead, but be careful not to give yourself away!"

So the rabbit came along to see the deceased; "Oh dear aunt! I hear my uncle is dead. I came as soon as I heard the news."

"Yes, there he lies dead," she said, "look at him, nephew, what are you going to do now?"

The rabbit took a closer look and then cried; "Ha ha! Aunt, if he were really dead, he would hardly fart, would he?!"

Informant: MJA, 13th April, 1976

some as for Tale 38, plus:

cf. A-T66B; Sham-dead animal betrays self

K1860 Deception by feigned death

Tale 40: Atughuan conejohuan

Shug cuentitota cunan rini ñucaca parlangapa. Numpa huiñai Cañar parlashcata. Ricungui: shug conejohuan shug atughuan tiyashca. Tlo nishpa rimanata yachashca conejoca atugtaca. Chaimanta tloca unguşca camapi saquirishca tloman nishca nin: - Jacu ricushun imallata tlanan convidangapa. Tlo unguş mana imata micui valinchu huasipi cashpa - nishca.

Chaimanta tloca: - Ari, sobrino - nish aparishca.

Chaimanta nishca nin: - Jacu shug ovejata randishun - nishpa. Chaimantaca shug yana carata aparishca ovejata ruhuashpa rumipi pillushpa chaimantaca nishca, conejoca nishca raposotaca: - Tlo, oveja singurinmi. Jaracangui - nishpa. Tloca changata pascashpa jaracash shayacushca. Chaimantaca entonces rumi cara pillushcata tloca pechopi huagdashpaca huañuchish shitashca. Chaimantaca maita causarishca tloca. Chaimanta nishca nin: - Sobrino, ¿imamanta chaitaca ruhuangui? - nishpa tloca entonces jatarishpa. Chaipica nishca nin: - Tlo, ovejatami cacharircani. Canllata mana jarcai valinguichu - nishca. Chaimantaca sobrinotaca tloca huañuchishami nishpa c'atish purishca, Sobrinoca atirishca maita.

Chaimanta entonces ishcai punzhapi tupashca. Chaimanta nishcami nin tlo: - ¿Imamantata canca caitaca ruhuangui ñucataca? - nish sobrinotaca rimarishca.

Sobrinoca nishca nin: - Tlo, imapapish ñucata macanguipish, jacu shug tratota ruhuashun - nish.

Chaimanta nishca entonces: - Bueno, sobrino - nishpa.

Nishca: - Ñucaca caipi cai mundo huallpacunata charini - nishpa cashataca t'ulupi churashca.

Tlomanca apachish cachashca. Chaimanta apachish cachagpica tloca nishca nin: - Ayau! ayau! Huallpa shillu! Ayau! ayau! Pavo shillu! - nish puricushca.

Chaimantaca tloca chayashca huasipi nishca nin: - Hija, ñuca sobrinoca caitami huallpahuan pavocunahuanmi cush cachan. Cunanca paila yacuta shayachishpami pelagrini - nishca.

Chaimanta entonces ña tloca jatarishpa pailapi yacuta shayachishca.

Chaimanta tloca nishca nin: - Pagta pascanguiman. Huallpahuan pavohuan volaringami t'ulumanta - nishca nin.

Alli huatashpa juin churash cuchi. Chaimanta cuchi huatash churagpica nishca nin tloca: - Nami yacu timbucun. Apamui huallpahuan pavohuan pelasha ñuca sobrino cushcata - nishca.

Chaipica nishca nin: - Caica hija - nishpa t'uluta aparishpaca paila yacu ladopi pascagpica puro casha cashca: chahuar casha, yurag casha, tucui chaicuna cashca. Chaimanta entonces tlotaca tloca umapi shitash cachashca: - Ri maipi sirigri cai cashahuan caiman apashca. Ñucata idia ruhuash puringui - nish.

Chaimanta entonces tlo nishca nin: - Sobrinota cunancari huañuchishami. Cunancari mana saquishacu - nishpa ña juin purishca.

Chaimantaca entonces sobrinoca atirishca cutin maita ña cutin. Quimsa punzhapi cutin ña tupashca. Chaimanta nishca nin: - Aja! Cunancari cantaca huañuchishallatami. Riqui ñucata cai mundota idia ruhuash cachangui. Cashacunata apachish cachangui - nish.

Chaimanta nishca nin: - Mana tlo, ñucaca pavohuan huallpahuan cacharircani.

¿Ima nishpata chaita ruhuarcangui, tlo? ¿Maipi huallpata shitashpa cashata aparishcangui? - nish sobrinoca ña llullashca. Chaimanta nishca nin sobrinoca: - Tlo, ña cunan chaitapish pasashun, imanashun. Cunanca jacu cutin mashcashun canmanca aicha gustan - nishca. Chaimanta entonces tloca nishca nin: - Bueno, ari, bueno - nishca nin. Ña amistarishpa rishcacunca cutin maitapish masheangapa.

Tloca huasipica nishca nin: - Tloca mana uyarin - nish chapacushca. Chaimanta chapacugpi entonces ña tloca nishca nin: - Tlo, canca caillapi shuyacui. Ñuca rini tratamungapa shug ovejata. Quizaschu maijen e'atunga - nishpa.

Chaimantaca tlapaman cutin shamushca. Tloca nishca nin: - ¿Tloca maipita saquimungui?

Nigpica: - Tloca ñami shamucun - nish llullashca.

Chai mayor tloca ña chaipi sueñashca. Mana uyarigpica cutin huasiman shamushca. Chaimanta sobrinoca cutin ña ñampi tupash nin: - Tlo, ñucaca ñami shug ovejata tratamuni. Jacu ricungui allichu - nish. Chaimanta tloca aparishca nin ña ovejata tratamuni nishpa tloca aparishca ña. Tloca mana risha nishca.

Chaimanta entonces solitario shamushca. Solitario shamugpica nishca nin: - Oi, sobrino, ¿ima shinashi chai yuranlla chupitataca ruhan? - nishcash.

Sobrino nishca entonces: - Mana tlo, facilmi caica. Shug cospita labrashpaca chai jahuapi tiyarishpaca shina yuranlla chupitaca llugshinllami - nishca.

Chaimanta entonces cospita labriashpaca tloca jahuapi tiyachishca. Jahuamanta tangashca cospica tucui cai yaicushca, puzuncama yaicushpa chaipi tlotaca huanuchishca.

Tloca ishcai punshapi juin causarishca. Juiciota japish huasiman rishca. Chaicamanea conejoca ña maita puricushca ña maita puricushca ña, juin tranquilo. Chaimanta tloca ña nishca nin: - Cunancari mana saquishachu. Micugrishami.

Cunan sobrinota micugrishca nishpa entonces ña micungapa puricushca nin. Chaimanta entonces maimantacha amurca shug huallpata conejoca apash puricushca. Chaimanta nishca nin: - Tlo, riqui ñuca mana llullanichu. Riqui huallpata apash shamuni - nishca.

Chaipimi nishca nin: - Ai, ñuca sobrinollatami, ¿imatapish ruhuangui? Tucuitami ruhuangui, pero huallpahuan shamui - nish cushilla tupash ña, maquinacushpa ña tiyash parlash. Ña tloca micucushca huallpata pelashpa chaipi. Chaimanta nishca nin: - Tlo, caita micui. Ñuca rigricunimi shug bodaman invitashca - nishca.

Chaimanta entonces tloca nishca nin: - Bueno, hijo, chaitacari ñucaman gustanmi - nishca.

Chaimanta entonces rishca ña micushpaca jacu bodaman nish inquitash. Chaimanta tlotaca yacu jundashcapi shug uchilla caspi shitashcallata chashna pasachicushca. Chaimanta tloca yacu jundashcapi rishca. Chaimanta rumi jahuapi tiyashca aparicushca nin. Tloca: - Sobrino, shamuiari ñucata maquita cingui - nishpa.

Chaimanta sobrinoca chimba ladoman tucushpa asicushca nin. Chaimanta asicushpaca entonces nishca nin: - Cunan ricushami ima shinami maita pasan - nish.

Tloca cutin rumi jahuamanta yacuman saltash yacupi nadash rishpaca carupi llugshigrishca. Chaimanta llugshigpi paica atirishca cutin shug ladota ña.

Chaimanta shug ladota atirishpaca cutin rishca paica shug huertaman coles lechuga cebollata micushca, Chaipi tloca chaíta puricushca. Chaipi entonces huertata cuidador runa, huasicamaca, llugshishca, Chaimanta raposota nishca nin: - Aja, canmi micunata yachashoangui, Chairaicu canmi puricungui - nishpaca shug garrote lomopi cushpa raposotaca volteashca. Chaipi raposoca nishca nin: - Mana ñucaca, conejo vivotami e'atish puricuni. Ñucata cai mundo ruhuan - nish contestashca. Chai contestagpimi entonces ña mana huañuchishca raposotaca. Ña cutin shamushca huasiman.

Chaimanta cutin shamushpaca ña huasipi chayash siricushca, Chaimanta raposopa huarmica nishca nin: - Ñuca cusaca ñami huañun, Sobrino canca mana shamungui - nish.

Chaimanta yaicuchun chaíta nicushcahuan conejota ña micungapa, Mana yaicushca conejoca, pungullapi tiyacushca. Pungullapi tiyacushpaca nishca nin: - Mana huañushcachu ñuca tloca, causacunmi - nishca nin. Chaimantami nishca entonces tlopa huarmica nishca nin: - Huañushcami. Ña mana jatarinchu. Ña caina punshamantami shina siricun. Sobrino, yaicush ricush cui. Tloca imami tucun. Mana paica yaicushca, pungullapi tiyacushca. Tloca allinlla jatarish chapacushca yaicugpi micungapa. Chaimanta paica ña sentishpa atish callparishca, ña ucuman mana yaicushca.

Chaimanta, mana yaicushpa quince díasta cutin maita puricushca, Chaimanta quince díasmanta cutin tupashpa nishca nin: - Mana, tlo, ña cai mundota ruhuangui, cai mundota imanangui, micusha ningui jurangui. Micunguipish jacu cai animalito ricushun - nish shug animalta ricuchish aparishca.

Chaimanta tloca nishca: - Mana rishachu.

Chaimanta entonces maimantacha tarirca shug uchilla curiquingatashi apamushca conejoca. Tloman ricuchishca nin: - Riqui cai mundota amuni canman carangapa. Tlo can shinashpami macasha ningui - nishpa. Entonces tloca chaíta japish micungapa rigpi tlotaca cutin conejoca ña shamushpaca jaitashpa puzunpi jaitashpa chaipi saquisheca. Chaimanta huañuchishca ña. Conejoca raposota huañuchishpaca ña rishca paica shug ladota cambiarish, ña mana chaipi tupash, cutin familiacuna shamush macangami nishpa. Chaimantami entonces ña paica separarish causagrishca mai ladopi. Chaillapimi tucurirca.

The fox and the rabbit

Now I am going to tell you a little story that was told by the folk of Cañar in the old days. It goes like this; there were once a rabbit and a fox. The rabbit used to call the fox 'uncle'. Then one day the aunt fox stayed in bed sick, and the rabbit said to the uncle: "Let's go and get the aunt a little something to eat. She's at home, ill and unable to get herself any food."

The fox agreed and went along with him.

"Let's buy a sheep," said the rabbit.

Then he took a black sheepskin and wrapped it in a stone. Then he said to the fox: "Uncle, the sheep is rolling, stop it."

So the uncle stood with his legs apart to block the path of the sheep. Then the stone wrapped in a sheepskin hit him in the chest, knocked him to the ground and killed him. Then after a long time the uncle came round. Getting to his feet, he said: "Nephew, why did you do that?" But the rabbit replied: "Uncle, I loosed a sheep for you. You yourself couldn't stop it."

Then the uncle went after his nephew wanting to kill him. But the nephew escaped.

Then two days later the uncle met the rabbit and said: "Why did you do that to me?"

The nephew replied: "Uncle, whatever you do, even if you beat me, let's do a deal."

"Very well, nephew," said the fox.

"I have a lot of chickens here," said the rabbit, and he put some thorns in a sack. Then he sent the fox on his way carrying the sack and as he went, carrying it, the uncle cried: "Ow! Ow! Chicken's claws! Ow! Ow! Turkey's claws!"

Then when the uncle reached home, he said to his wife: "Here, my dear, my nephew has sent a gift of chickens and turkeys. I'll get a pot of water ready for plucking them."

Then the aunt got up and prepared a pot of water. The uncle told her: "Be careful not to open the sack; the chickens and turkeys will fly out." So he tied the bag securely and put it away in a corner. When he had done so, the aunt said: "The water's boiling now. Bring the chickens and turkeys that my nephew has given me and I'll pluck them."

"Here you are, dear," said the fox and he brought the bag to the fire-side. Then when she opened it the aunt found that it was full of cactus spines of all kinds. So she emptied them onto the uncle fox's head: "Get out of here," she said, "you've brought me a bag of thorns. You're always playing tricks on me."

And so the uncle said: "Now, nephew, I really shall eat you. Now I shan't leave you in peace," and he went on his way.

After that the nephew escaped far away again. In three days' time they met again. "Aha," said the fox, "now indeed I shall just eat you. Look at all the tricks you have played on me. You sent me off carrying a bag of thorns."

But the rabbit replied: "No, uncle, I sent you with turkeys and chickens. Why did you do that, uncle? Why did you throw out the poultry and carry home thorns?" So saying the nephew lied. Then he spoke again: "Uncle, now let's let the matter go. Now let's go and look for meat, that you like so much."

"Very well, yes," replied the fox.

So they became friends and set off again to look for meat.

The aunt was at home watching out for her husband: "There's no sign of the uncle," she said.

While the aunt was keeping a look out, the rabbit said to the uncle:

"Uncle, you wait just here. I'm going to do a deal for a sheep and I'll be back. Perhaps somebody will sell me one."

Then he came back to the aunt's house. She asked him: "Where have you left the uncle?"

And the rabbit lied in reply: "The uncle is just coming."

Then the uncle fell asleep where he was. Later when the rabbit didn't reappear, he came home. The rabbit met him again on the road: "Uncle, I've managed to get a sheep. Let's go and see what you think of it." So he took the uncle along, saying that he had obtained a sheep. But the uncle didn't want to go.

Then a solitary bird came by. Thereupon the fox asked: "Hey, nephew, how does that bird come to have such a white tail?"

"Oh, that's easy, uncle. If you sharpen a stick and sit on the end of it, your tail will come out white."

So he whittled a stick and made the uncle sit on the end of it. Then

he pushed him down onto the stick. It went up into him as far as his stomach and there he killed the uncle.

In two days the uncle revived. Coming to his senses, he went home. Up until then the rabbit was wandering about peacefully. Then the uncle said: "Now indeed I shan't let him be. I am going to eat him." And so the fox went his way, wanting to eat his nephew. Then the rabbit came along, bringing a chicken from somewhere. "Uncle, look, I wasn't lying. See how I bring you a chicken," he said. "Ah, my little nephew, what do you think you're doing? You play me all kinds of trick. But come here with the chicken." And he greeted the rabbit happily, shaking his hand and chatting. Then the fox plucked and ate the chicken. The rabbit told him: "Uncle, you eat this. I have to go to a party to which I've been invited." Then the uncle said: "Very well, my son, that's just the kind of thing I like."

So then, after he had eaten, the fox persuaded the rabbit to take him along to the party. Then the rabbit made the uncle cross a river by means of a very small log that had been lain across it. The fox fell into the water and was carried away onto a rock. Then he called: "Nephew, do come and give me a hand." But the nephew had crossed over to the other side and was laughing. As he laughed he said to himself: "Now I shall see how he gets out of this one." Then the uncle jumped from the rock into the water and swam until he came out of it some way off. As he emerged from the water the rabbit had escaped again in the other direction.

So, having escaped in another direction, he came to a vegetable plot where he set about eating cabbages, lettuces and onions. There the uncle came after him. Then the man who looked after the plot, the *huasica*, came out and said to the fox: "Aha, so it's you who's been eating the vegetables. That's why you're wandering about." And he took a stick and knocked the fox on the back. Then the fox replied: "It's not me. I am after the crafty rabbit. He has played a lot of tricks on me." When the fox made this reply, the man didn't kill him. Then the fox came home again.

When he got home he lay down and his wife said: "Now my husband has died and you don't come to the house, nephew." With these words she wanted to persuade the rabbit into the house in order to eat him. But the rabbit didn't come in, he just stood in the doorway. As he stood there, he said: "My uncle hasn't died. He's still alive." But the uncle's wife said: "He's dead. He won't get up any more. He's been lying like that since yesterday. Nephew, come in and take a look at what has happened to your uncle." He didn't go in. He just stood in the doorway. Then the uncle got up quietly and looked about, so that he could eat the rabbit when he came in. Then when the rabbit heard this movement he ran away, and didn't go inside.

After that episode, some two weeks later he was walking about somewhere and met up again with the fox: "Oh, uncle," he addressed him, "what are you doing? What are you up to? You curse me and want to eat me, Even if you eat me, let's go and see this animal I have."

He took the fox to show him an animal he had, 'though the fox was reluctant to go. Somewhere or other he found a little *curiquinga* bird and brought it to show to the uncle; "I have brought this for you to eat. And even so you want to beat me."

So the uncle took it and was about to eat it when the rabbit gave him a great kick in the belly and left him there. That time he killed him. When he had killed the fox the rabbit went away so as not to be found in those parts, for the fox's family might come and beat him. So he went away to live in some other place. That's the end.

Informant: JMT, 15th July, 1976

some as for Tale 38, plus:

A2378.8 Origin of colour of animal's tail

K1000 Deception into self injury

Q302 Envy punished

Q331.2 Vanity punished

Tale 41: *Atughuan conejohuan*

Urcuman llugshina nin tlohan sobrinohuan, Urcupi tlo yarqachishpa sobrinota micusha nina nin. Sobrinoca conejo, tloca atug. Sobrino nina nin: - Tlo, imata micungui ñucataca? Ñuca utilla cani, mana sagsanguichu. Tlo jatun puzunta charingui - nin -, jatun puzunta charingui, tlo. Ñucami mejor huagchuta charini - nina nin sobrinoca, - ¡Maipita huagchu?

- Chai jahuapimi - nina nin -, ñami ñuca cachagrini. Tlo canca caipi chapangui. Nallami ñuca huagchuta cachasha.

Tlo chapana nin urapi chapacuna nin. Sobrinoca shug oveja carapi jatun rumita pillushpa singuchish cachana nin. Tloca urapi chapacunmi. - Tlo, chapangui, ri ña japingui, tlo - nina nin. Chaimanta tlotaca, tlotata shungupi huagtashtapaca rumica yacuman singuchish cachana nin tloca. Tlo maicha urapi llugshina nin achcata yacu aparishca.

Chaimanta cutin sobrinota maschashpa rina nin toca micush nish paita idia ruhuan nishpa. Chaimanta nishca nin sobrinoca: - Mana tlo, canllata pasachish oachangui chaica huagchumi carca - nishca nin -, tlo ama ñucata micuichu, chainigpimi shug semejante gorda aichata ñuca charini. Jacu chaipi.

Carasha nishpa aparina nin tlotata. Chaimi tlo rina nin. Shug yegua jatun llano pambapi siricuna nin sueñashpa. Sueñashpalla siricuna nin, mana huañusheca tucush. Chaimantaca tlotata nishca nin: - Chaipi micui, tlo.

Chaimanta callari nishpa ricuchishca nin. Ña tloca ña micui callarishca nin ña siquimanta umata satish. Chaimanta tlohan ña umata satigpi yegua jatarishpa corcoviashpa rina nin maita tlotata huañuchish maipi shitangapa. Chaillami ñuca cuento.

The fox and the rabbit

An uncle and his nephew went out onto the hillside. When the uncle felt hungry there on the hill he wanted to eat the nephew. The nephew was the rabbit and the uncle the fox. The nephew said; "Uncle, why do you want to eat me? I am small, you will not be satisfied with me. You have a big belly, uncle, I have a lamb for you instead."

"Where's the lamb?"

"Up there. I'm going to send it down to you right now. You stay here and watch out. I'll send the lamb to you in just a moment."

So the uncle was watching out down below and the nephew wrapped a big rock in a sheepskin and sent it rolling down. The uncle was watching out below. "Uncle, watch out! Catch it, uncle!" called the rabbit. Then the stone hit the uncle in the chest and sent him rolling into the water. He was carried away by the water and didn't get out until he was far away.

After that the uncle was looking for the nephew who had played the trick on him, wanting to eat him. Then the nephew said: "No, uncle, that was a lamb. You yourself let it go past without catching it. Don't eat me, uncle, over there I have a fat bit of meat. Let's go." And he led the uncle away wanting to give him some food. So the uncle went along. On a flat plain there lay a mare asleep. She was only sleeping as she lay, she wasn't dead. The rabbit told the uncle: "Eat there, uncle."

He showed the fox the mare and told him to start eating. So the fox began to eat by putting his head into the horse's rear. When he did so, the mare got to its feet, bucked and threw the fox in the air killing him. That's my story.

Informant: ET, 10th June, 1976

additions:

K553.4 Wolf is requested by horse to start eating from the rear;
kicked to death

Tale 42: Atughuan conejohuan

Conejoca cana nin, semejante vivo conejo. Atugta tontoyachina nin, Atugcitoca puricuna nin zumbazurita micushpa, ima shutita micushpa cana nin. Chaipi puricuna nin atugcitoca. Chaipi nina nin: - Tlo, tlo, tlo, shamui caiman - nina nin.

Chaimanta ari nish tloca rina nin armaringapa. Armarigpi nishca nin: - Tlo, cai jatun rumita trancangui charingui, cai jatun rumita, Pero alli jaitarish charingui. Cai rumi shamushpaca ñucanchitaca tucumi huanuchinga - nishca nin conejoca -, charingui canca - nin.

Ari nishpaca atugcitoca charicucuna nin rumita jaitarishpa juin. Rumi ima horas shamun nish chaparashca juin. Vivo ña chaimanta: - Bueno, cunancari, caita ruhuan semejante sobrino, cunancari micushallatami, Japishallatami, micushallatami - nina nin.

Chaimanta bueno ña nina nin: - Tlo, tlo! Al fin ¿ima ruhuangui? Al fin ñucata micunguipish pero cai yacuta jarcai. Cai yacu ñucanchitaca aparigrinmi - nina nin -, ahecata shimita pascashpa yacutaca jarcaangui - nina nin.

Ari nish tloca aheca shimi pascash jaracuna nin yacuta. Yacu tucui llugshirina nin shimiman yaicush. Ña chaíta ruhuana nin. Ña chai ruhuashpa ña pai vivo ña ladiyarín conejoca. Chaipi nina nin: - Cunancari, semejante huambra sobrino, micushallatami, japishallatami - nina nin.

Chaimanta nina nin: - Tlo, tlo! Ñucata micunguipish, ñucata japinguipish, caipi shug oveja huanushca. Chaitara shamui micungui - nina nin.

Ari nishpa chaíta micucuna nin micucuna nin. - Pero cai puzuncitota cucayupa, cai chunzhullicitota yanta huatana huascata ruhuashun - nina nin.

Chaipi nina nin: - Ari, sobrino, ari - nishpa nina nin.

- Tlo, tlo, pero ricushun, ricushun quirupica aicha yaicurishca shina -
nina nin.

Chaimanta ari nishpaca: - Shimita pascai, shimita pascai ricungapa -
nina nin.

Ari nish shimita pascashpa, ricugpica saltash yaicushpa siqui jutuman
llugshirina nin conejoca! Chashnami.

The fox and the rabbit

There was once a very crafty rabbit. He used to make a fool of the fox. The fox used to eat *zumbazura* birds and *shuta* birds. That's how the fox lived. One day the rabbit said to him: "Uncle, uncle, come here." The uncle agreed and went to have a wash. As he was washing the rabbit said: "Uncle, hold up this big rock. But hold it up well. If it falls over it will kill us all. You hold it up."

So the little fox agreed and held up the rock to stop it falling over. He kept a close watch out to see when the rock was going to fall over. Then he realised the trick and said: "Well, this is what my rascally nephew does. Now indeed I shall just eat him. I shall just catch him and eat him."

Well after that, one day the rabbit said: "Uncle! Uncle! What are you doing? Even if you are going to eat me, stop the flow of this water. This water is going to carry us away. Open your mouth wide and stop the course of the water."

In agreement, the uncle opened his mouth wide and stopped the water. The water all flowed out and into his mouth. So the rabbit played that trick. Having done that, the crafty rabbit made off in another direction. And the fox said: "Now indeed, my rascally young nephew, I shall really catch and eat you."

Then the rabbit said: "Uncle! Uncle! Even if you eat me, even if you catch me, there's a dead sheep here. Come and eat that first." So the fox ate it. The rabbit told him: "Keep the sheep's stomach for a *cuayu* and with the intestines let's make a thong for tying up firewood."

"Yes, nephew, yes," said the fox.

"Uncle, uncle, but let's see if any of the meat has got stuck in your teeth. Open your mouth so I can have a look."

When the fox opened his mouth, the rabbit jumped into it and came out at the other end! That's how it is.

Informant: TSA, 20th November, 1976

no additions

Tale 43: Atughuan conejohuan

Conejoca chaipi japirishca sisa huertapi. Chaipi mana cacharin. Chaipi presorin. Nucanchi compa' Antucuca pasacushca nin ladollata. - Imata ruhuashpa cashna shayacunguiari?

Nigpica: - Ay, hombre, nucaca cashnami cani: shug muchacha doncellahuan casarai nishpami caipi nucata presoncuna. Presoshca tiyacuni - chaipi presoricun -, tloca, jatun cangui, alli cangui, ahecata micungui wiangui. Nucaca imata mana pudishachu.

Ari nishpa sonso animalca cutin cacharish cachan. Pairucushi chai cera turupica llutarish saquirin Antucu. Conejoca rin vivota ashun. Rin conejoca largo maita. Chaica shamuna nin unai unaipica sisa huertayucunaca. Na ima horas presorinata jachashpachá shamushca nin jatun fierro barrandilla pucalla aisashca. Chaipica nishca nin: - Ay, nucaca caitaca nucaca casarashallami, casarashallami.

- Ah, bribón, caihuan cazarai - nishpaca cahi semejante fierro cusashcata
tucui siqui, juteupi satishca ninyá,
Chaipi rupachishca, Shinash cacahrish cachashca, Rishcarucu.

Cutin cai shug bribonca maipi chapacurcachariyd: - Tlo, tlo, yacupi
siquita sati, yacupi siquita sati.
Maipicha ima curca paica, imata maipi. Rupash polvoyash maita ricun!
Shina rin atish tloca. Maita ima shina rishpaca chayarin ña maipi, mana
yuyanichu alli, asha ashallatami yuyani.

Chaipi shinapish maicha shug jatun loma quinraipishi tiyacunarucu.
Conejocucua shug jatun rumirucuta oveja carapi alli pillushca, Tlo
brutoca c'atishcacha maita puricunyd. Rina nin, - Ah, huambra
Juanchu, imatata ruhuacunguiari?

- Ay, tlo, ñuca caipi tiyacuni cai ovejata lluchusha nishpa. Ñucalla
mana pudish tiyacuni. Tlo, canman cusha hombre, can lluchush micungui,
Canca jatunmi cangui.

Ari ari nish cushilla.

- Chai urani uraiman ri, chaipi alli jarcangui. Ñuca cacharisha,
Ari nishpa shug quinrai loma uraitaca bastanteta urai rish chaipishi
shayarina. Ima mundo rigra pascashca shayacun nin jarcashpa. Caica
ovejarcucua cacharishca rin nin tlo shayacupica. Tlotaca paira
tlondi ovejandi huaiquiyancumalla. Ovejandi tlondi huaiuca rincuna nin.
Chaipica: - Alau tlolla! ima tucunguiari? Maiman ringuiari? - nishpa
ladotaca callpacunashi.

Tloca ovejandi rin huaiquiyash. Ladota maipi shina zafarigpichariyd,
Maita cutin ladoyashpa rina nin. Tlo huahuaca zafarish. Ovejarcucua
imaita rin? Shinashpashi cutin maita ima shina rishpachari animalca
cutin, tentadoca, pactado animalchd. Rinarucu nin, maita cashpapi
tlo huahuaca ña. Zafarishpa cutin c'atishcacha puricun shug animalpish
cutin. Rina nin zafarish.

Maicha shug loma quinraillapitashi tiyacunarucu nin conejorcucua. Ña
churaicunahuan valirishca nin. Tucui quinraitaca juin: - Imapa tlo,
ñucata micunguipish caitara ruhuashun, caita ruhuashun. Ñucata
micunguipish.

Caita churaicuna valirish, churaicunaca shug lado esquinata callpacun
cutin shug ña churai nin. Chaipi uyash cutin tigrarish shug ladoman
callpacun ña cutin jahuapi churai nin. Maijan ladronman mana llugshin
nin. Caipi churai, chaipi churai nin. Pobreca callpan, desmayan,
shaycun. Chaipi jilu tugyash huañuna nin. - Ay, tlolla, vidalla,
ñucatacaipiman saquinguiari? Alau! ima tucushari - nishpashi.

Ima mundotashi huacacun tlota huañuchishpaca. Tloca huañuna nin jilu
tugyash. Paica churaicunahuan libre saquirina nin. Asha ashata yuyani:
pitapish parlash asichicureca churaicunahuan. Imacha chai churaicunaca
cana carca. Caipi chaipi uyarigpica tucui ladoman callpacun, mana
avansan. Jilu tugyash huañun, Nish asichicucuna parlash.

The fox and the rabbit

The rabbit was caught there in the flower garden. Then he wasn't
released. He was taken prisoner there. Our compadre Antucu was passing
right by there. "What are you standing there like that for?" he
asked.

"Oh, man, here I am like this. They have taken me prisoner because
they want to marry me to a maiden. Here I am a prisoner. Uncle, you
are big and strong. You can take a lot of food and drink. I shan't
be able to manage."

So the stupid animal set the rabbit free and he stayed there daubed in that sticky white mud. The rabbit on the other hand was clever and went off. Then after a long while the owners of the flower garden came by. When they learned that there was someone in the trap they came with a red-hot iron rod. Then the fox called: "Ah, I'm going to get married. I'm going to get married."

"You scoundrel," said the gardener, "marry this if you will." And he put the heated iron right up the fox's backside. He was burnt and then set free. He went away.

Again the other rascal was watching out for the fox: "Uncle, uncle! Put your arse in the water! Put your arse in the water!" The fox went his way burnt and battered. Thus he escaped. Off he went, and arrived I don't know where. I don't remember the story well. I just remember a little.

So then they were somewhere on the slopes of a high hill. The rabbit wrapped a large stone in a sheepskin. The uncle came following him. He said: "Ah, young Juanchu, what might you be doing?"

"Ah, uncle, I want to skin this sheep but I can't. I'll give it to you, uncle, for you to skin and eat. You are big and strong."

The fox agreed happily.

"You go down there below and stop the sheep in its tracks. I'll send it down to you."

So the fox went down to the bottom of the hill and stood there. He opened his arms wide and stood ready to stop the sheep. As he was standing there the 'sheep' was set free and as it rolled down, both the sheep and the fox together rolled down into the gorge. "Hey there, uncle! What's happened to you? Where are you going?" cried the rabbit as he ran off in the other direction. The fox and sheep rolled downwards while the rabbit escaped well away. Who knows where he went? Then the uncle escaped too. Who knows where the sheep ended up? And so again that wicked animal went his way, who knows where? Then the fox escaped and went back to following the rabbit again.

This time the rabbit was sitting just on the side of a hill. Now he had made a plan with some travelling tradeswomen from Chimborazo.

"Uncle," he said, "even if you eat me, let's do this first. Even if you eat me."

He made a plan with the tradeswomen that they should run from one corner to the other. When the fox heard them they would turn around and run to the other side. "Here's the woman, here's the woman," the rabbit called.

The poor fox ran, he fainted, and he grew tired out. Then his innards burst and he died.

"Oh my dear uncle, my life, who shall care for me now that you're gone? Oh, dear, what shall become of me?" cried the rabbit.

He wept bitterly as he killed his uncle. The uncle died with his innards burst. And the rabbit remained behind with the tradeswomen. I just remember a little of what people used to tell, making us laugh with the story of the women. Who might they have been? The fox heard them here and there and ran after them in all directions without being able to catch them. He died with his guts bursting. That's how people talk, making people laugh.

Informant: JY, 13th December, 1976

additions:

K741 Capture by tarbaby (cf. Tale 45 where the motif is more explicit).

Tale 44: Atughuan conejohuan

Chai cacho colorado tiyanmi: tucui tiempo parlana yuyarishpaca, Bueno, shug punzhami tupanacurca atug sobrinocunahuan, Sobrino carcamí conejo y chucurillo. Invitarcamí vaqueropa ushi cazaracun nishpa sobrinocuna tlo atugta. Bueno almitircami atugca. Ña chai vaqueropa ushipa huasiman ringapa nirca, conejoca violinista, chucurilloca tamborero carca, Chaica 'ton ton' ninga. Tloca cushilla nirca vaqueropa ushi cazaracun nigpi sagsagta micungapa, Sobrinocunaca solo engañarca. Chaimanta aparirca tlo ñugpashpa nirca shug vaqueropa ushi cazaracun nishpa chayarca corralman, orillaman. Entonces chaipimi cutin allucuna llugshirca tlohuan japirirca. Conejohuan chucurillohuan chai tronerapi yaicureca, mana llugshirca. Allucunaca tlotara siquita polvurca, pasachirca. Tlo rabiahuan nirca.

Sobrinocunahuan cutin maipica tupangami: - Castigashami. Caita micushpami contentarisha.

Unaipimi tuparca, unaipi tupagpimi nirca: - Shug ovejatami charini jana lomapi. Chaíta cacharisha can japingui, micungui, chaihuan sagsanguimi, Singushirca jatun rumita carahuan pillush urmashpa. Chaica tloti nircamí ura pambapi: - Pagta pasachinguiman cai ovejata. Ovejaca nircamí lomamanta. Rumimi carca. Singurca, Tlotaca machcashpa chaipi huanushirca.

The fox and the rabbit

There is a bawdy tale: I remember what people are always saying, Well, one day the fox met his nephews. The nephews were the rabbit and the weasel. They invited him to the wedding of the cowhand's daughter. Well, the fox accepted. So they were going to the house of the cowhand's daughter, the rabbit as a fiddler and the weasel playing a drum. The uncle went along happily to eat his fill at the wedding. But the nephews were only deceiving him. Then the fox went ahead into the yard of the house where they said the wedding party was. Then the dogs came out and the uncle was caught. The rabbit and the weasel escaped into the drainage channel, and the dogs pulled the uncle to pieces. The uncle went away angrily.

Again he met with his nephews: "I shall punish them. I shall be happy to eat them," he said.

After quite a while he met them and one of them said: "I have a sheep on the top of that hill. I shall set it loose and you catch it and eat it. That way you will be satisfied."

So he rolled a large stone wrapped in a sheepskin down the hill, and called to the uncle on the flat ground below: "Be careful not to let the sheep go by you."

The 'sheep' rolled down the hill. It was really a stone. It crushed the uncle and killed him.

Informant: AB, 4th August, 1976

additions:

J514 One should not be too greedy

Tale 45: Atughuan conejohuan

Jillushpa purig carca huertacunata conejoca, Chaimantaca entonces shug colamanta runata ruhuash churarca. Chaipi ña entonces chai runataca sentishpaca alli maqui huagtarca. Maqui pegarirca: - Oi, tlo, carajo, cacharingui!

Lluqui maqui librerami. Lluqui maqui huagtarca. Iskcai maqui pegarirca. Chaimanta: - Tlo carajo cacharingui, pagta jaitaiman. Chulla chaquimi jaitarca, alli chaqui. Chai pegarirca. Ña: - Tlo, carajo cacharingui!

Chulla chaqui librerami. - Ñuca jaitashpacari pero tlo can ima tucush mana cacharinguichu?

Lluqui chaqui jaitan. Ña ishcai maqui chaqui ña prenderircami cashna ña goma ruhuashca runapi, japi tucungapa ña. Chaimanta entonces nirca: - Tlo, carajo, cacharingui!

Umahuan una pegarirca.

Tlo atugca pasacushca. - Oi, tlo, tlo, shamui, shamui.

Como conejotaca jatun jirru jaganicuhuan siquipi satingapa shamucurcacuna ña, jirruta jaganichishpa. Tlota creichishca: - Tlo, cunan punzha huagra huñugricun. Cunan punzha cuicuna tiyagricun. Carmi jatun tlo cangui. Carmi jatun huigsa cangui, tlo. Ñucaca uchilla huigsa cani. Cunan punzha, reypa ushita casarashun ñucata. Chairaicu ima mundo micui ruhuagricun. Tlo, can reypa ushita casarai.

Ari nish tonto tlota pai pegarirca. Chaimanta jatun jaganicug jirru cusashcahuan shamushpaca tlota siquipi satigpica jahumantaca maquita huagtrashpa bailashpa tlahuanmi puricun. Chaimantca entonces: - Ja, ladrón, mañoso, huerta jillug - nishpa.

Ña cacharish cachagpica jahumanta.

Jahua lomamantaca: - Tlo, tlo, yacupi siqui sati, yacupi siqui sati - nish caparin.

Ari nish tlota yacupi siqui satin. Chaimanta entonces ña llugshirin tlota llugshirishpa nin.

Tla ña huachan chai huambra Alejopaca. Huahua uchilla singa nishca, llullu atugta. Chaimanta entonces pobre tlota huarmiman manteningapa mana yacharca huarmipa ungitaca. Chaimanta japimun yutu, japimun dumbadur, japimun cuchupa, japimun curinquinga, japimun sugsu, japimun mirlo. tucui chaíta t'ulupi aparish shamucugpica: - Tlo, caillami mana pagtangachu. Ashataun japimugri - nishpa creichish cachashpa jatun yura cashata t'ututa jundachirca, tucui chai animalcunata llugchish cachashpa.

Chaimanta tlota t'ulumanta lomopi casha tugsigpica: - Ayau! ayau! Yutu shillu! Ayau! ayau! Dumbadur shillu! Ayau! ayau! Añas shillu! Ayau! ayau! Yutu pico!

Chaica chayamun. Tlapaman chayamushpaca ña t'ulupi maqui satishpa casha japirin, yura cashata. Maquita ricushpa, yahuar llugshishpaca: - Maldito, mal cristiano, ima sobrino canga!

Tlapish chaimanta rabiariarca, ña mana ashun ña moyayash nirca ña: - Riqui ñuca mantención, ñuca cusa cai mundo tucuita japimushca, chairashi - nish.

Shamugpica entonces ña micusha nirca tlapish. Chashnami chai bribón conejoca tlota chai ruhuarca.

The fox and the rabbit

The rabbit used to steal from vegetable plots. Then a man made of glue was put to catch him. When he noticed the man, the rabbit hit him with his right hand, and the hand stuck fast. "Hey, mate, damn you, let me go!" he cursed. His left hand was still free. Then he hit him with his left hand, and both hands were stuck. "Damn you, mate, let me go or I might kick you!" Then he kicked him with his right foot. That too got stuck. "Damn! Let me go!" cursed the rabbit. The other foot was still free. "Even when I really kick you, why do you not let me go?" And he kicked with his left foot. Now both his hands and both his feet were stuck like that to the man of glue and the rabbit would now be caught. Then he cursed again: "Dammit! Let me go!" And thumping with his head, that too got stuck.

The uncle fox was passing by. "Hey, uncle, come here, come here," called the rabbit. For the gardener was heating an iron and was coming to put it up the rabbit's backside. The rabbit deceived the fox: "Uncle, today a bull is to be slaughtered. Today there is to be guinea-pig to eat. You are big, uncle. You have a big belly. I have a little belly. Today the King's daughter is to be married to me. That is why a lot of food is to be prepared. Uncle, you marry the King's daughter." The stupid fox agreed, and took the rabbit's place, stuck to the tar-baby. Then they came with a great red-hot iron rod and put it into the fox's backside, while the rabbit looked on from the hill up above, clapped his hands, and danced with the fox's wife. "Thief, deceiver, pilferer!" they called the fox. Then, when they set him free, the rabbit called from above: "Uncle, uncle, put your arse in the water, put your arse in the water!" The fox did so. Then the fox got out of the water.

Now the fox's wife had a child by the rascally rabbit: a snub-nosed baby fox. And the poor uncle fox didn't know how to keep his wife during her confinement. So he caught some different highland birds for her to eat, and was coming along with them all in a sack. The rabbit tricked him, saying: "Uncle, there is not enough here. Go and catch some more."

And while the fox's back was turned he emptied out the birds and filled the sack with brambles and thorns. Then the thorns pierced the fox's back as he carried the sack along, and he cried: "Ouch! those are the partridge claws! Ow! *Dumbadur* (?) claws! Ouch! The skunk's claws! Ow! The partridge's beak!"

And so he arrived. As he arrived home to his wife, putting his hand into the sack the thorns dug into him. When he looked at his hand and saw it bleeding, he cried: "Curses on that wicked youngster, what sort of nephew is he?"

The aunt too was angry and now no longer flirted with the rabbit, saying: "Look how he has taken all my husband's game."

Now the aunt too wanted to eat the rabbit. That was what the rascal did to his uncle.

Informant: JSA, 23rd January, 1977

cf. A-T 175: The tarbaby and the rabbit. The rabbit, who has been stealing fruit from a garden is captured by means of

a tarbaby, an image with tar. The rabbit tries to make the tarbaby talk and finally becomes so angry that he strikes it. He sticks to the tarbaby and is captured.

K741 Capture by tarbaby

Commentary

1.0 Introduction

These tales have in common that they relate the trickster-like antics of the fox and the rabbit in a series of episodes which vary in frequency and order of distribution from version to version. The tales belong to a cycle for which a common fund of episodes is available in the local tradition, for each informant to draw upon according to his knowledge and caprice. The relationship between fox and rabbit is an antagonistic one, and further tales were collected which give us explanations for their anti-social nature in relation to the world of men, and to some extent explain their enmity towards each other. Those tales include 33, dealt with in Section B, and Tales 46-49, which I shall look at in Section C (b), below.

Propp's theory of function would be well borne out by the fox and rabbit tales, where the same episodes are performed by different animal actors according to geographical and cultural location. In Colombia, Venezuela, and the Caribbean, tiger replaces fox, but rabbit remains. (1) In N. Central Ecuador the wolf (*lobo*) is concurrent with the fox (*atug/raposo*), (2) In S. Central Ecuador (Cañar), only fox and rabbit were heard of. In Peru, the fox (*atug/zorro*) remains, but rabbit (*conejo*) is replaced by mouse (*ukucha*), (3) and in Bolivia by monkey (Aymara: *kusilu*). (4)

The personalities of the animals are stereotypical and remain constant throughout the area of distribution of the tales, despite changes in the identity of the animal in question. In the case of Ecuador: the rabbit is quick, crafty, unscrupulous, a beau, a flirt, and vain. Although his scruples usually bring him out on top in his brushes with the fox, the explanatory tales (46 & 47 in particular) show that his vanity and presumption can result in his humiliation.

The fox is the rabbit's dupe, gullible and brought down each time by his greed for food and his own vanity.

When we meet the fox and mouse of Peruvian tradition, we find the same qualities apply, as Morote Best describes:

"El ratón es el símbolo de la malicia, de la viveza, de la actividad corporea y mental, del engaño y el fingimiento.... El zorro es un sujeto taimado y crédulo.... No hay animal que no lo engañe; el burro, la wallata, el cuy, el ratón...., pero es a éste a quien debe su fama de gran tonto."
(1958b:21)

Whilst, speaking of the fox and rabbit as found in some Bolivian versions, Paredes Candia gives us an equally apt definition:

"siempre figura con las calidades del ser ruin, trapacero e indigno"

he says of the fox, and of the rabbit:

"el indígena siempre lo representa en su literatura oral como el muchacho guasón, reidor, bromista, que día y noche está planeando jugarretas a costa del zorro."
(1973:14)

Morote Best also refers to the anthropomorphization of the animals in Peruvian tradition, whereby the mouse is typically identified as:

"un jovencito de voz aflautada y vestido plomo, con los ojillos saltones y pícaros"

and the fox:

"es un apuesto y tonto joven de poncho rojizo, enemigo de los perros y de los cohetes, gran ejecutante del clarín"
(loc.cit.)

An explicit anthropomorphizing of the animal characters does not seem to occur in the Ecuadorean material, although they do demonstrate traits of character which are commonly associated with human beings. It seems relevant to consider whether the Andean fox and rabbit (or mouse) tales should be classed as 'analogistic' according to von Sydow's use of the term. That is to say, whether the animal characters in question speak and act just as a human being would do in the same circumstances, or whether, on the other hand, it is not possible to exchange the animals for human characters; that although they are

made to speak and act as if they were humans, they remain essentially animals in their habits and personalities (1948:134 sic.). Speaking for the Ecuadorean material at least, I would say that the depiction of animal characters belongs to the latter category.

However, if not wholly anthropomorphic, the animals can be said to play a rôle which is at least allegorical. Although they are undeniably animal in behaviour, they display traits of character which can be said to be projections of human fallibility. In attempting to understand the original appeal of these tales to the indian audience, which has encouraged their preservation and development, it is also tempting to read allegory into them at the level of social context, rather than merely at a didactic level. As Mitchell has remarked:

"an interesting factor is that these conflicts most often involve animals not normally in conflict in everyday life, and thus the language here may be analogical of conflicts existing in the culture itself".
(1972:64)

In the Ecuadorean context, this statement is not strictly applicable, as conflict between fox and rabbit is a realistic notion. Nonetheless, it might be considered possible to interpret that conflict in allegorical terms of the rabbit as the indian finding a chance through the medium of folk narrative to express a sort of wish-fulfillment as he gets the better of the fox-*mestizo*. Equally however, one could say that the reverse is the case, that the tales are the indian's pessimistic expression of relationships between social groups, where the rabbit-*mestizo* gets the better of the fox-indian, the dupe who is the victim of his own naiveté in the world of the *mestizo*. Due to the subjectivity and flexibility of these interpretations I believe it is best to avoid them, especially in view of the fact that I never found any implication in the attitudes of the informants towards the material that such was its ulterior message. Rather, it seems most sensible for the analyst as audience, to take the tales at their face value: as good

entertainment containing a strong sense of that rather sadistic sense of humour so peculiar to both indian and *mestizo* classes in Ecuador. It is their appeal to that sense of humour that seems to be uppermost in preserving their popularity.

1.1 The tales as myth?

The following comments stem from a comparison between these tales and the well-documented animal trickster tradition of the Winnebago (see Radin 1956). Whilst the fox and rabbit cycle in contemporary Quichua society cannot be said to be placed in a mythological past, like that of the Winnebago trickster, in which trickster doubles as culture hero in his exploits, which trace a progression from both physical and psychological anarchy to order, these tales do contain some features which are reminiscent of mythological trickster cycles of other culture groups, the N. American indian among them. (5) The Winnebago trickster, for example, is ostracised from society at the end of a former creation. Popular tradition in Cañar tales describes the early curse of both fox and rabbit, as I have mentioned, and their relegation to the periphery of human society. The Winnebago trickster suffers a lack of awareness of his physical limitations; the fox demonstrates an equal ingenuousness in Episodes 25-27 of the cycle (see chart below). The ease with which he comes back to life after lethal treatment at the hands of the rabbit could be seen as part of this 'syndrome'. Wakdjundaga is motivated and duped as a result of his insatiable need and desire for food; the fox's downfall stems equally from his greed.

The rabbit is also capable of classic trickster-like performances, for example Episode 12, in which he enters the fox's mouth and escapes by exiting through his anus. In many of the Cañar versions there is implicit reference to sexual indiscretion between the rabbit and the

wife of the fox; in Tale 45 it is explicit - we are told that the fox's wife has given birth to snub-nosed children fathered by the rabbit. This aspect of the cycle would be read in mythological terms as the breaking of the taboos of incest between blood or ritual kin (depending upon whether we take the uncle-nephew relationship between fox and rabbit to be a consanguineal one, or a ritual one of *compadrazgo*). The lack of adherence to moral and social laws is another traditional trait of the trickster figure. Thus, whilst these tales are not myths in the strict sense of the word, they do contain elements of trickster cycles which are common with those societies where the trickster is an essentially mythological being.

1.2 Comparative data

Before proceeding to the breakdown of the tales, it should be pointed out that animal trickster tales such as these are part of a far reaching folk tradition, that spreads from India, to Europe, Africa, and the New World. The most thorough historical-geographic study of the distribution of the tales is probably that of Espinosa, although this is restricted to the study of the 'Tarbaby' motif (1930,

1943). Additionally there are the works of Boas (1912), Hansen (1957), and Harris's collection makes interesting comparative reading (1955). Boas's work contains tales of rabbit and coyote with extensive comparative notes.

2.0 Distribution of episodes in the Ecuadorean versions

There were 28 variants at my disposal: nine collected by myself in Cañar, one by Schulze in the same area, others from elsewhere in the highlands in manuscript form, and some were available in published form. The chart which follows maps the distribution of a sum total of 27 episodes through this whole corpus of 28 tales. These tales have

been labelled as follows, for ease of reference:

GS/CA/2: "Atugmanta conejomanta"
 CN/17: "El tlo lobo y el sobrino conejo" (Carvalho-Neto 1966:no,17)
 CN/18: "El tlo lobo" (Carvalho-Neto op.cit.No,18)
 GS/CO/3: "Atujmanta"
 PM/CT/4: "El sobrino conejo"
 GS/SA/2: "Lobo conejomanta"
 GS/AG/3: "Conejo atugmanta"
 LS/IM/4: "Conejo huertapi purishca"
 LS/IM/5: "Shuj conejo ñawpa tiempo tiyashca"
 LS/IM/9: "Conejo huambra"
 HD/SA/27: "The rabbit and the wolf"
 JC/IM/8: "Shuj atuj huarmindi shuj cunijuhuan"
 JC/IM/15: "Shuj atuj shuj cunijuhuan"
 JC/IM/16: "Shuj atuj shuj cunijuhuan"
 JC/IM/17: "Shuj atuj shuj cunijuhuan"
 YL: "Cunumanta" (Yuquilema 1974:22)
 IID: "Lobo cunin" (IID 1975a:33)
 PS: "Briars for beans and stones for a goat" (Parsons op.cit,148)

SEE ATTACHED CHART

2.1 Structure of the tales

The tales are compiled of a series of episodes each of which is capable of standing on its own as a single unit or of forming one of a string of units, which lead on one to the other by means of a circular pattern as follows:

rabbit tricks fox → fox resolves to eat rabbit → rabbit tricks fox

In more than 50% of the versions, the initial trickery occurs in Episodes 1-8 whereby the rabbit persuades the fox to take his place in a trap (the 'Tarbaby' motif). However, in the other 50%, the traditional antagonism between the two animals is a given from which premise the narrator works, with no real need to set the scene. At the end of each episode the threat of the fox to eat the rabbit is reaffirmed as a result of the latter's treatment of the dupe, and so the necessary grounds are provided for the next episode. Such are the cyclical characteristics of this set of tales, in contrast to those of Section A, which generally followed a linear pattern culminating in a resolution of the initial situation rather than coming round full circle to a repetition of it. The structure of the Christ Child cycle has more in common with the present tales, particularly in the trickster

Distribution of episodes for 28 variants

| EPISODES | Tale 38 | Tale 39 | Tale 40 | Tale 41 | Tale 42 | Tale 43 | Tale 44 | Tale 45 | Tale 45a(1) | CN/17 | CN/18 | GS/CA/2 | GS/CO/3 | GS/SA/2 | GS/AG/3 | PM/CT/4 | LS/IM/4 | LS/IM/5 | LS/IM/6 | LS/IM/9 | HD/SA/27 | JC/IM/8 | JC/IM/15 | JC/IM/16 |
|--|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|-------------|-------|-------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|----------|---------|----------|----------|
| 1 rabbit steals from kitchen garden (rabbit = R) | x | | x | | | x | | x | x | x | x | x | | x | | x | x | x | | | x | | | |
| 2 R caught in tarbaby trap | | | | | | x | | x | | | x | x | | x | | x | x | x | | | x | | | |
| 3 R caught in other trap | x | | | | | | | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 R tempts fox with 'get married' ploy (fox = F) | x | | | | | x | | x | | | | x | | x | | | x | | | | | | | |
| 5 R tempts F with 'eat meat' ploy | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 F takes R's place in trap | x | | | | | x | | x | x | x | x | x | | x | | x | | x | | | x | | | |
| 7 F has hot iron stuck up backside (or otherwise punished) | x | | x | | | x | | x | x | x | x | x | | x | | x | x | x | | | x | | | |
| 8 R tells F to put backside in water | x | | | | | x | | x | x | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9 R persuades F to hold up rock while he fetches sticks | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 R asks animal to make sound of wood being cut | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 R fills bag of 'poultry with thorns & gives it to F, sometimes as gift for F's wife | x | x | x | | | | | x | | | | x | | x | x | x | | | | | x | x | | |
| 12 R escapes by leaping into F's mouth & exiting through his anus | x | | | | x | | | | | | (2) | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 R sends stone wrapped in sheepskin to waiting F at bottom of/hill, F knocked out | x | x | x | x | | x | x | | | x | | x | x | x | x | (3) | | | | | x | | x | |
| 14 R persuades F to stop water course with his body, F swept away by water | x | | | | x | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15 F's wife gets head stuck in R's burrow entrance, R covers her face with <i>ajl</i> | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 16 F plays dead, R comes to wake, F gives self away by passing wind | | x | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | x | | | x | | | |
| 17 sexual relations implied between R and F's wife | | | | x | | | | x | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 18 R leads F to river on way to party, F nearly drowns | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 19 R tells F to eat horse, latter only asleep, kicks F | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 20 F taken to wedding feast, bitten by dogs | | | | | | | (4) | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 21 R distracts F's attention with poultry, kicks him | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22 F set to chase women, dies of exhaustion | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 R tells F there's cheese in lake, F tries to drink lake | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | x | | | |
| 24 R tells F not to eat whole sheep as needs parts of it for different purposes | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | |
| 25 F wants white tail, R tells him to sit on stick, F impaled | | | x | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 26 F wants a <i>plfano</i> , R tells him to remove own shin bone to make one | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | | | | | | x |
| 27 R tells F certain kind of fruit can be obtained by hitting testicles with stone, F does so & dies | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | x | | | | |

- NOTES: (1) this version was unrecorded, given by PTA
 (2) the *chucurillo* does it under R's instructions, killing F
 (3) uses cowhide instead of sheepskin
 (4) R's function filled by R and *chucurillo* (ie. the R function is duplicated)

sequences. But the surrounding framework of those stories, deriving from the Gospels, gave us a clear beginning, middle and end, rather than a circular pattern as found here.

2.2 Order of episodes

Following on from what has been said about the structure of the tales, it is to be expected that no apparent laws should govern the order in which the episodes are drawn upon by different informants. If we study the order in which they do appear from tale to tale, however, it will be seen that this is not strictly true:

| <u>Tale</u> | <u>Order of episodes</u> |
|-------------|---------------------------------------|
| 38: | 1,3,4,6,7,8,9,10,11,12,13,14 |
| 39: | 13,11,15,16 |
| 40: | 13,11,17,25,18,1,7,16,21 |
| 41: | 13,19 |
| 42: | 9,14,12 |
| 43: | 1,2,4,6,7,8,13,22 |
| 44: | 20,13 |
| 45: | 1,2,4,5,6,7,8,17,11 |
| 45a: | 1,3,5,6,7,8 |
| CN/17: | 1,3,5,6,7,13 |
| CN/18: | 1,2,5,6,7,8 |
| GS/CA/2: | 11,1,2,4,6,7,8,13,17,14,12 |
| GS/CO/3: | 13 (repeated for two different foxes) |
| GS/SA/2: | 1,2,4,5,6,7,11,13 |
| GS/AG/3: | 11,13,16,26 |
| PM/CT/4: | 1,2,5,6,7,11,24 |
| LS/IM/4: | 1,2,4,6,7 |
| LS/IM/5: | 1,2,5,6,7,16 |
| LS/IM/6: | 23 |
| LS/IM/9: | 27 |
| HD/SA/27: | 1,2,5,6,7,16,11,23,13 |
| JC/IM/8: | 11 |
| JC/IM/15: | 13 |
| JC/IM/16: | 26 |
| JC/IM/17: | 1,2,4,6,7 |
| YL: | 1,3,5,6,7 |
| IID: | 1,2,5,6,7,12,13 |
| PS: | 11,13 |

The most striking point arising from the above table is the frequency with which a selection of the episodes between 1-8 appear in numerical order and often at the beginning of a tale. These episodes incorporate what I choose to call an 'episode cluster', and describe

a sequence of events closely comparable to 'A-T175: The tarbaby and the rabbit'. They form the starting point for the fox and rabbit tales in 13 out of the 28 versions. The specific features of this particular set of episodes will be more fully discussed in §4.0.

No other episode or group of episodes appears as frequently or shows such a consistent predilection for a particular positioning in relation to other episodes, which leads me to conclude that the addition of other episodes to those of the 'Tarbaby' sequence is an arbitrary decision to be made by the narrator, allowing him room for creativity within the set structural framework. If anything at all dictates the order taken by episodes, it must be the popularity of the episode in question. Episode 13, which makes an appearance in 15 tales, opens 4 of them, and takes second place in another 4. Elsewhere, it follows after the 1-8 cluster. Episode 11, occurring in 10 tales, is the opening episode of 3 of them, and takes second position in 2. I would argue that the more popular the episode, the closer its position to the beginning of the tale: not as a result of any structural necessity for the pattern of the narrative, but simply because its popularity in that particular area causes it to be the soonest brought to mind by the narrator. The incidence of certain episodes and their frequency of occurrence varies within the Andean region. Let us now look at some of the comparative examples from elsewhere.

3.0 The episodes in a comparative context

The Thompson motif listing attached to the texts shows that some of the episodes may be traced to Indo-European and Afro-American comparative sources, some of which are mentioned in §1.1. However, few of these correlations conform in the details of their content. 'K1000 Deception into self-injury' is a case in point: Episodes 25-27 clearly fall under this heading, while the specific examples given by

Thompson do not correspond. There has therefore been considerable innovation at the level of content, and reworking of old themes, in the animal trickster tales of the Andes. Some of these may be the individual creations of the narrator, perhaps unique to him or her, and shortlived in their history. Episode 22 may be an example of such a process. Others have accumulated a traditional popularity in the area, for example 'K1251. Holding up the rock', commonly found in Peruvian versions, but only occurring twice in the Ecuadorean (Episode 9). Morote Best describes other common episodes to the Peruvian variants, including also Episodes 11 and 16. Not found in the Ecuadorean sample, but very popular in Peru are the episodes of the fox getting his head stuck in the *mazamorra* pot, the 'rain of fire' episode, and the episode in which the fox is duped into burning his own young. (6)

The occurrence of Episode 10 can be traced to another branch of Peruvian oral tradition and its appearance explained in structural terms: its traditional context is that of the tales of the Condor's mistress, where the frog is enlisted to make sound of clothes being washed while the heroine escapes (see Argüedas and Stephan op.cit. 126-138); it will be recalled that the same episode crops up in the 'Mama Ahuardona' tales. Episode 15, which also makes an isolated appearance, is probably derived from the same source: the rabbit overcomes the threat posed by the fox's wife in Tale 39 in the same way as the hummingbird overcomes the condor in Argüedas's version of the 'Condor's Mistress', that is, by rubbing *ajt* in the adversary's face (loc.cit.).

4.0 'A-T175: The tarbaby and the rabbit'

As I have noted, the episode cluster 1-8 forms the starting point for more than 50% of the sample, and it seems reasonable to consider it as the basic motif of the cycle. It derives from A-T175, the com-

parative study of which has been exhaustively carried out by Espinosa (ops.cit.). By comparing the form it takes in the Ecuadorean versions with his findings, a striking similarity is to be noted with the form taken by the Spanish American versions included in his analysis. He divides the tales into 56 'elements', which correspond to those units I refer to as episodes. Elements 43-46 of his analysis are unique to Spanish America, with the exception of one version from the Lesser Antilles and one Anglo-African one. He describes these elements as follows:

- "43. "They want me to marry the king's daughter", or
"They want me to marry a pretty girl"
 - 44. "They give plenty of food, chicken, etc."
 - 45. The substitute animal is scalded with hot water
 - 46. The substitute animal is stuck with a hot poker,
sometimes in the anus."
- (1930:189)

The variation in the ploys used by the rabbit to persuade the fox to take his place in the trap is of interest: it would seem that the 'get married' ploy has less in common with the values of the adopting Quichua culture than the 'eat meat' ploy. The persistence of the first of these may also be influenced by the existence in the same culture area of versions of 'A-T1535: The rich and the poor peasant' in which a human dupe is tricked into taking the place of human trickster by similar means. A Cañar version of this is found in Tale 63. The 'eat meat' ploy, on the other hand, has probably been encouraged by its kinship with the values of the society, where meat is accorded a high prestige value, eaten only on feast days. MEZ's remark concerning the fox's fate in Tale 44, made as she helped me with transcription, was that such was his punishment for greedily wanting to go to a fiesta, where he would eat meat: *"por bodero, queriendo comer carne"*. It is also interesting that in Tales 45 and GS/SA/2 the 'marriage' and 'meat' ploys are combined, no doubt through a logical association between weddings and the eating of meat.

The fox and rabbit cycle in Ecuador, therefore, has its main foundation in the 'Tarbaby' tradition. It should be noted that in Cañar, however, the instances of that are low. In my own collection it is only well developed in Tale 45, and is just hinted at in Tale 43. GS/CA/2 contains only a sketchy version of it. Additionally, it occurs in Tale 46, which has been consigned to sub-section (b), below. In many of the Cañar tales, nonetheless, the rabbit is caught in some unspecified kind of trap, the fox tricked into taking his place, and receiving his punishment. Thus the narrative pattern of the sequence remains the same, whilst the surface feature of the 'Tarbaby' motif is either lost, or transformed and simplified. 6 out of the 10 Cañar versions contain this narrative sequence, and where it is well-known by the informant, it comes at the beginning of the text, reinforcing the theory that, originally at least, it was the basis of the fox and rabbit tales, to which many permutations of further episodes could be added.

FOOTNOTES

(1) Hansen (1957): "74K & L: Rabbit is caught and is going to be skinned cooked and eaten. Tiger (fox) passes & rabbit tells him he is tied down in order to eat a cow (or marry a princess). Tiger (fox) exchanges places with rabbit and is scalded. L: Rabbit tells tiger that King will give princess to whomever eats heifer. Tiger goes to help rabbit. Latter rolls huge stone down hill & tells tiger it is heifer. Latter tries to stop it and is badly injured."

(2) GS/CA/2; "*Lobo conejomanta*", HD/SA/27: "The rabbit and the wolf"

(3) for Peruvian versions there are many sources, the following is but a selection: Hoggarth (L.), "*Huj ukuchas*" (unpub. ms, coll. Cuzco), Morote Best (1950b) in which the author sets Peruvian versions of the fox and mouse tales in the context of Espinosa's exhaustive studies of the tradition from India to Europe to the New World (Espinosa A. 1930, 1943); Morote Best (1958b:20-27) for a section entitled "*El zorro, Personaje de nuestros cuento populares*"; Lauriault (1958:119-121, 143-150, 150-152) for "*Atoqpa cuenton okucha compadreyoq*", "*Okuchawan atoqpa cuenton*", and "*Nina para cuento*", respectively; Tello (1923) contains 3 fox tales; Navarro de Aguila (1946) on fox and mouse tales; Jiménez Borja (1940, 1937); Ravines Sánchez (date?): "*Ocho cuentos del zorro*"; see also Chertudi (1962).

(4) La Barre (1952:42-45)

(5) see also Hoggarth(P.) (1975) for an appreciation of the Winnebago cycle, and Howard (1975) on animal tricksters in folktale. The 'Pascual and Diego' cycle in Peru appears to be the most explicitly mythological of the Andean material, as this setting of the scene would suggest: *"el zorro es el último animal que ha salvado del diluvio universal. Se halla desesperado por su soledad, pero encuentra a Diego (el ratón) y hace amistad con él"* (Morote Best 1950b:38).

(6) Morote Best (1958b:20-27),

Section C sub-section (b): Aetiological tales of the fox and rabbit

Texts

Tale 46: *Atughuan conejohuan Mama Virgenhuan*

Raposoca Mamita Virgen maldicion cana niari. Cai ovejitaca Niño Jesus nacerigpica chashmalla cachun nishpa ovejitaca paipa criataca regalashca Mamita Virgenmanca. Entonces chaica purioushca nin purioushca. Ña jatun cana nin ña c'uyashca. C'uyana ovejita cana cashca nin San Josepa lo mismo ña, Mamita Virgenpa, angelitocunapa, tucui juin. Shinashpami cutin cashna retratopish tiyan. Retratopish tiyan cai sumag Dios Semana Santa huañugpipish ovejita tiyan, gallito tiyan, Simon Sereneo tiyan, ña chaicuna ña retrato cai Santo Sepulcropa ña representante tiyancuna ña. Chai ovejitataca regalashca nin ña mama ovejitaca huahuata. Cai raposo ladronca entonces shuhuash millpushca nin. Chaipishi Mamita Virgen nishca nin, San Jose nishca nin: - Canca ama ni pi gentecunapi ama junto causanguichu. Canca causangui urcu urcu, rumi siquicunapi sueñushpa, mai sachá siquicunapi sueñushpa. Urcupi causangui ama gentecuna igualca - nina nin -, ama gentecuna igualca. Porque canca imamanta ñucapa c'uyanata shuhuash millpungui? Chashmalla shuhuash millpungui - nishca nin -, chashmalla shuhuash millpungui sea oveja, sea shuta, sea huallpa, sea conejota, sea chuspica. De repente hay punzhacunaca tariringa, hay punzhaca mana tariringa, hay punzhaca chuspicaunallahuan causangui - nishca nin. Chashna maldecishca nin. Chaipishi entonces raposoca ña maldecishca puricuna nin.

Entonces conejoca como vivoiari, dondequiera vivo paica bien saite, bien guapo, hasta doncellascunahuan huacachish purirca, shug punzha invitana nin: - Tlo - nina nin -, jacu. Ñuca shug sumaimana c'uyana solterami llugshigricun, tupagricun ugshangapaca. Conejoca como vivo aparina nin maichari shug ugshana llagtaman. Semejante ugsha cana nin: casi shug cuatro cinco metros largo de ugsha. Chaipica entonces cai conejoca nina nin: - Shamunga, ñallami shamunga. Ricungui, tlo, apuraila ugshashpa. Conejoca cana niari sugta mulapi. Pai solo mana ringaraicu chai abromashcari conejoca tlotaca, atugtaca. - Tlo - nishca nin -, ñallami shamunga ricungui. Ñallami cui cusashcahuan shamuna - nirca -, ñuca enamoradaca ricungui ñallami shamunga. Ricungui, ñallami chayamunga - nina nin. Chaipica tlo huahuaca apurash ugshacun nin. Paica tiyash cantacun nin, maquita huagtacun nin conejoca.

Entonces chaimantaca ña ugshash tucui huatana nin. Tucui tlollatata huatachina nin ugshatapish: - Ñami tlo, canca jaitarish charingui, ñuca shitagrini. Mana cashpaca tlo canllata shitai asi fuera chupahuan charingui cutin, tlo - nina nin -, cargataca, tercio ugshataca. Mana ñucallataca ima shinata chupahuan charish, canchari - nina nin. Entonces que chulla ladomanta shitana nin tercio ugshataca. Tercio ugshata shitashpaca conejoca pataman huichaicushpa chayana jaitarish shayash charicuna nin. Jaitarish shayash charicushpa: - Tlo! tlo! jarcai! jarcai! jarcai! atigrinmi! 'ushcu ushecu ushecu' - nina nin. Chaimantaca tlotaca bestiacunaca munai jaitash pasana nin. Pero: - Tlo! tlo! - nirca nirca -, mana ni anguta churash cangui ni imangash cangui - nina nin. - Ladrón, cunancari millpushami - nishca nin. - Pero, tlo, ñucaca caparicurcanimi, huillacurcanimi. Ñucata riqui imatami ruhuan - nina nin. Paillatami millmata pelash ricuchina nin: - Riqui, ñuca cai trastitaca

lliquish shitan - nina nin -, ñucapa sumaimana trastita lliquish shitan - nina nin.

Chaica ña tloa cutin abromachina nin carganacuchun. Ña bestiacunata amuca nin cutin ña shayachishpa.

- Cunancari, tito. Paitara cai tuta millpunguimi - nina nin angu sobrecargataca - paitara millpunguimi. Nuca caiman ricuni, ñallami urani.

Mai urana huichacunapimi canga.

Chaita cargachig rishpaca asi fuera: - Canllatata pushash huasitaman rishun - nishca nin -, huasitaman rishun. Taitacuna chaipi cagpi mana utca ruhuaraca - nishca nin conejoca atugtaca. Chaica ña shina rina niari. Huasipica c'ayana nin: - Jali! jali! puri! puri! Imapari - nina nin -, cai horaschu shamucungui chai p'iti ugshahuan? - nina nin. Chaimantaca nina nin: - Ñucaca juin yarcachuan shamucuni. Nuca tlotami rogash shamuni. Chaiman carash cungi. Nuca ashtan cagllapi ñami cutini - nishca nin.

Chaimantaca tloca ña saquirin chaipi ña cui cusashcata micungapa, aichata micungapa saquirin ña. Entonces sobrinoca directo riari ña huasiman ugshahuan, sugta mula ugshahuan. Cosa que munai arrepentichishpa juin, bestiacunahuan jaitachish, juin anchita cana niari; vazucunapi bestiahuan jaitash, changacunapi bestiacuna jaitashea. Suchu shamuna nin ña pobre tlo huahuaca juin.

Chaimanta entonces ña sobrinoca chayana nin maipi cashpa huiñachig mamapapi chayana nin. Chayashpaca nina nin: - Alaj, sumag Dios ñucataca ya ves ñuca maqui ima shinami chullchuyashea shamuni. Cancuna huasipi yanga siricunguichi - nina nin.

Entonces shina cagpica yanga siricupica: - Caya yantaman ri - nina nin. Entonces: - Mana, caita ruhuagrini: ña ñucapa shug sumaimana tlomi tiyan. Chaitami rogagrini - nina nin.

Rina niari ña ugsha saquishpaca rina nin conejoca tlopaman.

Entonces tloca sobrino chayangacamanca ni imata mana caran ni ima.

Yarcapica: - Uaj! - nicuna nin -, uaj! - nicuna nin.

Munai juin bostezacuna nin juin. Chayashpaca nina nin chai solterataca: - Ima ruhuashun, campish creanguillami. Shug huahua ovejata cui ñuca tlo micuchun - nina nin -, chaihuan contentachishun - nina nin -, mana cashpaca yachacushpaca munaimi millpunga - nina nin -. Ña caita cushpaca alvertishun - nina niari.

Chaimantoca bueno, soltera ari nishpaca corriente maltón ovejitata cushpaca ura ucu aparishpa sumaimanata millpuna nin. Chaimanta nina nin: - Cunancari, ya ves, tlo, cuita mana caran, pero ya ves ovejata cun - nina nin - cunancari, tlo. Cunan cagpaca yantaman chashnallata shamupica cutin paipish carangallami.

Ari nishpaca entonces cutin: - Shug enamoradami charini uraiman uraiman. Ñami chaita rigrini, jacu tlo - nina nin micushca qu'ipaca.

Chaimi nina nin, sueñucushpa jatarina nin, punguta huagtana nin conejo 'jaj jaj jaj' nichina nin.

Ña conejo chayana nin. Conejo chayashpa ña, rinashpalla pero, caruta paimi, como caipica mana ima ovejacuna tiyan, ni ima mana tiyachu;

- Canca pobremi cangui pero enamoradami cangui, manchu - nina nin.

Chaipi soltera nina nin: - Ari, ñucaca enamoradami cani cantaca.

Cancó cutin tucui layamanta sonsoyachish puringui - nina nin -, canca ningui 'cayaca ñuca canmanca chayamugpi quimsa cui cusashcatami shuhucusha canman carangapa' ningui tlomanca.

Tloca canzha huasi siquillapi saquirina ña.

Aj yantaman aparina nin pobre tlo huahuataca. Tlo huahuaca munai munai munai shaycuna nin. Semejante huavisai yuracunapi, quinua yuracunapi churana nin chigtash chigtash quipi chaquishquitota. Conejo tiyash cantacuna nin. Nina nin: - Allitapish, tlo charini ña, Juin allitapish familia charini. Nucaca uchillito cani, mana fuerzayu cani, mana ima cani - allitapish cantacushpa, allitapish 'uajai' nicushpa. Pi mana ima ningachu. - Apurai, titto, apurai. Ya ves, caina tardeca alli cargarcanguí - nishpaca conejo huahuaca tiyash huagtacuna nin chashna, 'lalai' cantash, 'lalai' nish, tucui layata juin. Tloca yantacuna nin. Munai jumbi shutush munai, cosa que desmayana nin yarcaipi, uchilla huahua ovejata micushcalla tucui tuta tucui punshami,

Chayamuna shina cargana nin: - Titto cunan ñucaca uchillami cani, mana shitai pudishachu. Can shitash cui, titto - nina nin. Shinashpa cunancama tlocunatapish 'tlo tlo' ninchi. Shinashpa nincuna atug shina 'tlo' nish. Chaimanta shina ña carganacuna nin, shamunacuna nin. Chaipi nina nin: - Caipi ñuca carashallami. Ña rilla, hijo, ñuca caipi carashallami - nina nin. Ña chayamushpa chai enamoradaca alvertish cana niari ña conejoca ña. Chaipi chayamushpacari aj unai unailagpica.

Entonces trampa ruhuana niari chai solteraca. Shug cera huiquita churana nin, shug recién muyuchishca cera huiquita. Aichata huaracuna nin shug piraquinraipi. - Chaipimi can micunaca - nina nin. Mana ima cera huiqui nin. Cera huiquita churashpa cutin pamba asientopica churana nin shug goma cuenta colata churana nin, chai goma cuentata. Chai ucu pambapi tendina nin. Entonces piraquinraipi aichata ricushpa micugrina niari yarcaihuan. Chaica maquicuna chaipi planta saquirina nin. Entonces jaitarigrishpaca tiyarish maquicuna chutash chaipi asentarina nin: chupandi, siquindi, tucui, chaquicunandi, maquicunandi chaipi saquirina nin. Solo aicha ricurash maiman mana cuyurish chaimi saquirina niari. Huasha chashna tiyarish, chashna tiyash maquicunahuan chashna saquirina nin. Solo aicha ricurash chashna, aicha ricurash. Chai aicha ricurash tiyash saquirishpa ña cayandica nina nin: - Ñuca sobrino riqui, imatami ruhuash saquin? Riqui ¿caitachu ruhuan? Cunanca manata manata - nina nin - , manata, Maipica Diosca munangami micushallata - nina niari.

Chaimantaca rina nin rina nin ña entonces conejoca ña chayana nin. Descargana nin yantataca ña. Chaimanta ña puricuna nin puricuna nin. Cayandi chai doncella jatarishpa: - Riqui, caica mana canmanchu carca, ñuca allquitomarmi carca - nishpaca pobre tlotaca, munai chaillapi pegarishca cagpi tiyashca.

Chaipi pegarish saquirishca niari pamba asientopica. Ni maiman mana cuyui pudishca nin ni maiman. Chaillapi. Chai munai garrotina nin, munai macana nin, munai ishcai rinricunata p'itish cacharish cachana niari ña. Chaipishi ña pobre tlo huahuaca, atugca, rina nin. Juin munai, cada ishcai metros purin siririn. Cada quimsa chuscu metros purin azharimi siririn. Chashnashi avanzana paipa huasimanca, paipa jatun machai ucumanca. Chashna avanzashpashi ña ungushca sirina niari casi sugta quillata. Munai tulluyana nin, munai tanga tanga nish. Jatarigrin chaillapi voltean. Maiman rigrin, chaillapi voltean. Solo puru chuspicitocuna pasana nin.

Chashnashi shug chayamuna nin, atugllata. Nina nin: - Jali, huauqui, riqui, ñucata cashna ruhuancuna munai garrotishca. Recién alli tucucuni - nish. - Shuyai, huauqui, shuyai. Ñuca rinimi canta alimentangapa apamugrinimi - nish rina nin niari.

Semejante huagcha ovejarucuhuan shamuna nin ña cai shug atugca ña, shug atug. Entonces shamuna nin ña semejante huira oveja huagcharucuhuan. Shamushpami nina nin: - Cunancari ña, hermano, caita micucuilla. Ñuca rini mamita ricungapa, mamitamanea shugta apamugrinimi - nina nin -, ñuca mamita recién huachasca - nina nin. Chaimantaca ña tlo huahuaca munai ña chaita micushpaca ña sinchiyarina niaricasi shug huachasca cuenta sinchiyarina nin ña. Sinchiyarishpa llugshina nin.

Puricushca nin puricushca nin puricushca nin. Shug punzhaca siririn rondadorpi tocash juin aliento llugshicushca nin conejoca. Chaica tupash mana tupashpaca tloca juin tanga tanga nicushca nin ña debilitash cai mundo quilla mana micushca. Más cai mundo macashca, más cai mundo garroteashca, más sin rinricuna ima. Entonces ña tupashpaca nishca nin: - Cunancari, hijo, micunimi cantaca. Canca manata quishpinguichu caimantaca. Cunancari ña canca caimanta mana ringuichu.

- Pero, tlo, ¿ima ruhuangui? Ñuca cai p'itita micushpaca, ñucaca ni mana tunguri avanzashachu - nishca nin.

Chaipica pobre tlo huahuaca nishca nin: - Ari, canca p'itimi canguí, ni mana alli bocadochu canguí.

Chaimi nishca nin entonces: - Maipi tloca e'uyashpa ñucaman favor ruhuai: maipi shug ovejata ricuchi, can apamush cui - nina nin.

- Shamui, tlo, shamui. Uranillapimi semejante ovejacuna. Chaipi japish cush saquisha - nishca nin. Chaimantaca rin.

Entonces como ña juin tanga tanga nicun, como maimanta, mai callpai pudinman carca, chaica rin manada oveja ricuchin. Chaica: - Tlo, chaipimi shug jatun huagcharucuca. Chaita japish micugri. Chaica rin. Dueñocuna shamun. Munai garrotish casi ña huachuichishpa saquishca nin ña huachuichishpata pobre tlo huahuata, atugtaca. Chaita ruhuan entonces chaita ricuchin, manada oveja ricuchish saquin, conejoca largarin. Paipa ñanta largarin.

Pai largarishpa entonces ña Mamita Virgenpapi chayana nin. Mamita Virgenpapi chayashpa niari nishca: - Ñuca shina shina ruhuash shamuni cambia oveja shuhuagtaca - nishca nin -, ojalatapish Diosito shina ruhuanguiman carca. Cunancari canca alli chaquihuanmi puringui - nishca nin.

Chaica entonces Mamita Virgenca paitapish chaquihuan purichun nishca. Chaquihuan puricushca ña. Entonces jatunta huiñachichun nishca nin chaquihuan purichun. Chaquihuan puricushca, mana ña chashna maquihuanca, conejoca solamente cashna chaquihuan. Chaimantaca maichari ña tlo tupagpica ña chashna representashca ña. Chaipi representapí atish callpasheca nin cutin tloca ña paita ricushpaca. Chaica nishca nin: - Mana, juin jirumi purinaca, juin sachacunapi huagtarini, ima mai ugshacunapi jarcarini. Mana cangachu shinashpaca ima shina cutin shinallata saqui - nish.

Shinashpami Mamita Virgenca cashna rinricunamanta chutashca nin entonces, recto purichun nish. Shinashpa rinricuna conejoca chashna jahua jatun anchu rinricuna conejo. Chashnallata ruhuashca nin entonces, ima shina purin. Como conejo manachu uchillu jutquitota mai ugsha ucuta maitapish volarinlla ña juin. Atarin ña. Chashna ruhuashca nin qu'ipataca ña. Chaillapi tucurin ñuca parloca.

The fox, the rabbit and the Virgen Mary

They say the fox was cursed by the Virgen Mary. The sheep made a gift of its lamb to the Virgen Mary when the Christ Child was born. This lamb grew up in the tender care of Saint Joseph, the Virgen mother, and the angels. There is a painting of the Crucifixion in which the sheep, the cockerel, and Simon of Cyrene are all present, in a painting of the Holy Sepulchre. That sheep gave its child the lamb as a gift. The thieving fox stole and ate the lamb. Then the Virgen mother and Saint Joseph said: "You shall not live among men. You shall live in the hills, sleeping at the foot of rocks or trees. You shall live in the hills, not with men. Why did you steal and eat the lamb we loved? Just as you stole and ate it, you must steal and eat your food in future, whether it be sheep, partridges, hens, rabbits, or flies. Some days there'll be food for you, others there will be none. Some days you'll just live on flies," so the fox was cursed.

Now the rabbit was a sly fellow, always dapper and handsome-looking; he would even made the girls cry. One day he called to the fox: "Come on, uncle, let's go and collect straw; there's a pretty girl who will come and join us."

And the crafty rabbit took the fox to the place where you cut straw. It was very tall straw, about 4 or 5 metres high. And the rabbit said: "She'll come, she'll come. You hurry up and cut the straw, uncle." The rabbit had six mules with him. He tricked the uncle fox so that he wouldn't have to go alone for the straw. "Uncle," he said, "she'll be here soon. She's to come at any moment with some roast meat. My girlfriend will be along soon, you'll see." Then the uncle hurried to cut the straw. The rabbit sat there singing and clapping his hands. Then having cut the straw it had to be tied up. The rabbit made the uncle tie it all up himself.

(- *Nami tlo...Mai urana huichalcunapimi canga.* - This passage is hard to translate; the gist of it is that the rabbit persuades the fox to load the bundles of straw onto the mules, and he gets battered and kicked in the process. The rabbit deliberately pulls out some of his own fur to make a pretence of having also been battered)

And so, making the fox load up, they set off: "Let's go home, my parents will be wondering why we were not there earlier," said the rabbit to the fox.

And so the fox went along. Arriving at the house they shouted at him: "Hurry up! Get a move on! What are you doing coming at this hour with that little bit of grass?!"

"I'm hungry. I asked the uncle to help me do the work. Give him something to eat. I'll be right back," said the rabbit. And then the uncle stayed there in order to eat roast guinea-pig, and other meat. And the nephew went straight home with the six mule-loads of straw. And so the rabbit made the fox take all the punishment; he had been kicked in his legs and arms by the mules, and went limping home.

Then the nephew arrived at his adoptive mother's house. When he arrived he said: "Oh dear, look how covered in blisters I am. And here you all are lying idle at home."

And they, lying idly, told him: "Go and fetch firewood."

The rabbit replied: "No, I'll do this: I've got a fine uncle. I'll go

and ask him to do it for me."

And leaving the straw, the rabbit went to the uncle's house,

Until his nephew arrived, no-one gave the uncle any food. He was moaning with hunger, and yawning a great deal. When the rabbit arrived he said to the young girl: "You give a young sheep for my uncle to eat to keep him happy. Otherwise he'll eat me. By giving him that we'll keep him at bay."

So then the girl gave him a fine young sheep; taking it inside, he ate it. "There you see, uncle," said the rabbit, "she doesn't give you guinea-pig but look how she gives you a sheep. Now tomorrow if you come with me to fetch firewood she'll give you some more."

The uncle agreed and the rabbit went on: "I've got another girlfriend down yonder; let's go to her," after the fox had eaten.

Then the rabbit knocked on his girlfriend's door, making her laugh, and she got up although she had been sleeping. The rabbit arrived there after walking, for it was a long way - as there are no sheep or anything around here. "You are poor, but in love, aren't you?" the rabbit said to her.

Then the girlfriend said: "Yes, I'm in love with you. But you just go around pulling people's legs. You say to the uncle fox: "When you arrive tomorrow I shall steal three roast guinea-pigs to give you."" And the uncle just stayed outside at the corner of the house.

Then the poor uncle was taken to load firewood. He had to stand for a long, long time, cutting down the dry wood of the *huavisai* tree (?), and the *quinua* tree (*polylepis incana* R. et. P.). The rabbit sat back singing, and said: "I've got a big family, uncle. I'm just a little fellow, I have no strength," he said, singing and chuckling to himself. As if it were true! "Hurry, hurry uncle. You saw how I gave you food yesterday," said the rabbit, clapping his hands and singing. The uncle was chopping wood, sweating and fainting with hunger, having only eaten one small lamb all day and all night.

Then they came to loading the wood: "I'm only small, uncle, I cannot load up the wood. You load it, uncle," said the rabbit.

He called him 'uncle' just as we say 'uncle' to people today. Then they loaded the wood and came back. The rabbit said: "Now I'll give you food. Just go along, and I'll give you food."

As they arrived after a long time, the girlfriend was watching out for them. Then that young girl laid a trap. She took some newly-melted wax. And she hung some meat up on the wall. "There's your food," she said.

And placing the wax, she then put some glue on the floor. She spread glue all over the floor. Then when the fox saw the meat hanging on the wall he went hungrily to eat it. Then the palms of his hands stuck to the floorboards. Then, trying to get up, he sat down, and pulling his hands, they stuck there; his tail, his bottom, all of him, his legs, and arms, all just stayed there. He was stuck there, unable to move in any direction, just looking at the meat. His backside was stuck down like that, with his hands he just stayed like that. Just looking longingly at the meat. And so staying looking at the meat, the next day he said: "Look what my nephew has done to me. Has he done this? Now I shall really eat him, wherever he is."

Then the rabbit came along and began unloading the firewood. Then off he went. The next day the young girl said: "Look, this meat wasn't

for you, it was for my dog," she said to the poor uncle who was stuck fast here, without being able to move to one side or the other. Then they beat him and whipped him and cut off his ears. Then the poor uncle fox got away. He had to lie down every two yards. Every three or four yards he lay face down on the ground. And in that way he managed to get back to his big cave home. Arriving there like that, he lay sick for six months. He grew very thin and very weak. When he went to get up, he would just fall over again. Wherever he tried to go, he would fall over. He just lived on flies and insects. Then another fox passed by his way: "Hey, brother, hey! Here I am all beaten up like this. I'm only just beginning to get better."

"Wait, brother, wait. I'm going to bring you some food," and off went the other.

Then that other fox came back with a nice fat lamb, and said to his friend: "Now, brother, just eat this. I'm off to see my wife, and to take her another one. My wife has just given birth."

So then the uncle fox ate that meat and grew strong again. Then when he had grown strong he went out of doors.

He walked and walked. One day the rabbit was lounging about playing on his *rondador*. Then the fox came along, dragging his feet a little and weak, for now he hadn't eaten for a month. He had been beaten about, whipped, and his ears cut off. Meeting the rabbit, he said to him:

"Now my son, I'm really going to eat you. You're not going to escape from here. Now indeed, you're not going away from here."

"But uncle, what will you do? If you eat me small as I am, I won't even fill you to your gullet," said the rabbit.

Whereupon the poor uncle said: "Yes, you are small, you're not even a decent mouthful. If you love your uncle, do me a favour, go and bring me a sheep where you can find one."

"Come uncle, come. Down there, there are great big sheep. I'll get one for you."

And off they went.

Now as the fox walked slowly and painfully, he couldn't run. The rabbit showed him a flock of sheep. "Uncle, there is a nice fat lamb. Take that one and eat it."

And he went away. Then the owners of the sheep came. They whipped that poor uncle fox, and left him nearly dead. The rabbit had gone away after showing the fox the sheep. He took to his road.

After a while he came to the Virgen Mary. Arriving where she was, he said: "I've done this and this to the one who stole your sheep (*Ojala-tapish... nishca nin* - difficulty with translation)."

Then he wanted the Virgen Mary to make him able to walk just on his hind legs, not on all fours. He said: "It's very hard to live like this, hitting myself against the undergrowth, and getting caught up in the grass. If you make me walk on hind legs, then that won't happen." Then the Virgen took hold of him and pulled him by the ears, saying it was to make him walk upright. And so the rabbit came to have long ears. She did just that, nothing more. And now the rabbit has to live in little holes in the grass and hide from its enemies. That's what happened in the end. There my story ends.

Informant: EDC, 27th November, 1976

- M411.8.4 Animals cursed by saint
 A2231.7 Animal harmful to holy person cursed
 A2238 Animal characteristics punishment for greed
 Q552.35 Punishment for greed
 K741 Capture by tarbaby
 K553.1 "Let me catch you better game"
 K200 Deception in payment of debt
 A2232 Animal characteristics: punishment for immoderate request. Dissatisfied animal finds that when his request is granted he is worse off than before
 L435 Self-righteousness punished

Tale 47: Conejopa rinricunamanta

Shug punzha conejo taita Dioshuan tupashca nin. Chaipi tupashpaca nina nin taita Diosta: - Oi, taita Dios, imamantata ñucataca uchillata ruhuarcanguiri? Ñucata jatunta ruhuashca cagpica ñucapish alli yachag runami caiman carca. Ñucapish cura caiman carca, ima reypish caiman carca, presidente, imapish caimanmi carca ñucaca. Chaimanta: - Cunan ñucata huiñachi ñuca canta servingapa shug cura tucusha nini.

Chaita uyashpa taita Diosca cashna nirca: - Cai cosascunata apamugri, ñuca canta jatunyachisha.
 - ¿Imatata apamushari? - nirca.
 Chaipica nirca: - Ri shug lagarto quiruhuan p'iña huagra gachuhuan chaita apamugpica ñuca canta jatunyachishallami.
 Chaimanta nirca huagra gachuta masheangapa. Urcuman rin, patayan nin, shug p'iña huagrapa ñugpapi.
 - Ñuca caipi shug curitami tarini, cai rumi ucupi. Ñuca mana fuerzata charini, canca, huagraca, fuerzata charingumi. Cai rumi ucupi shug curi tiyacun. Cai rumita huaracash shitashpa cai ucumanta curita llugchishun, ishcai tucushpa. Huagraca creireca. Ari nishpa: - Caru carumanta shamushpa umata satish rumita huaracasha - nirca.
 Pero mana pudirca gachu chururirca. Gachu chururigpi pai ña gachuta japishpa callparca.

Chaimanta nirca costaman. Jatun mama cucha ladoman. Chaipi lagarto tuparirca. Lagarto tuparigpi nirca: - Ai, compadre, ai tlo, cunanca familiami canacunchi, rigsirishun. Ñuca caipi imallitocunahuan shamuni, Caita japishpa micui, uiai - nirca.
 Apashea carca tanda, ima alli micunacuna apashea carca. Y uviachingapa vino apashea carca. Micunata carashpa, vinota uviachishpa lagartota sueñuchirca. Lagartota sueñuchishpaca ña macharish sueñucugpi shug caspihuan lomopi huagtarea. Chaipi lagartoca atishpa yacuman yaicuroca,

Lagartoca shugcunami canga nishpa cutin tuparca. Pandachishpa cutin shugta laya churanahuan tucushpa nirca conejoca cutin tupangapa. Cutin tupashpaca: - Ai, compadre, ai, tlo, ñucaca caipi rigsiringapa shamuni, ñuca caicitohuan pasacuni, caita micushun caillapi - nirca.
 Chashnallata nigpica lagartoca mana creirecachu. Nin: - Mana cancunaca mana ñuca familiachu canguichi. Sarunca shug runs shamurca chashnallata, can shinallata rigsirishpa tucui laya ñucaman cararca. Ñucataca ñuca sueñucugpi garrotehuan huagtarea. Pero mana huañuchircachu. Ñucata sichu siqui patapi huagtashea cashpaca huañuchinmanmi carca. Pero mana siqui patapi huagtarea, lomopi huagtarea. Chai mana huañurecuni, Cunanca canllataca mana ninichu - nirca.

Chaipica nirca: - Mana, ñucaca mana chai layachu cani. Mana chai layachu cani: caica japilla, micuilla, uviailla - nirca, Chaipi arita nishpa lagartoca japirca, uviarca, micurca, Micushca qu'ipaca chashnallata macharigpi sueñurca. Sueñucugpi garroteta japishpa siqui patapi huagtashpa lagartota huañuchirca, quiruta churumurca. Quiruta churushpaca ña apashpa nirca chai ishcai cosas-huan.

Taita Diosman ricuchirca: - Tucui can mañashcata amunimi cunanca, Cunanca caita ruhuai, ñuca caita apamunimi, ñucataca cunanca huiñachinatami charingui.

Entonces taita Diosca: - Ari, apamui, cunanca canca huiñagringuimi, pero mana tucuihu.

Rinrimanta japishpa huaroushca nin, Huaroushpa rinri solota huiñachishca, - Canca maleriado ñucata chashna ningui, canca ringui mai juteupi chushag qu'ihuata micushpa mai maicunapi causangui, cantaca atugcuna imapish japish micuchun. Chashna nishpa rinri solota huiñachishca charish cacharca.

How the rabbit got long ears

One day, it is said, the rabbit met God. Upon meeting him, the rabbit said to God: "Hey, God, why did you make me small? If you had made me big I would have been a very wise man. I might have been a priest, I might have been a king, a president, I might have been all sorts of things."

After that, he said: "Now make me grow; I want to become a priest in order to serve you."

Hearing that, God spoke: "Go and bring me these things, and I will make you bigger."

"So what shall I bring?" said the other.

And God replied: "Go and bring a lizard's tooth and the horn of a wild bull. When you bring me those things I will make you bigger."

After that the rabbit set off to look for a bull's horn. He went up into the hills until he came to where a wild bull stood. "I have found some gold here in this rock. I don't have the strength, but you, bull, are strong. There is some gold underneath this rock. By flinging it to one side, let's take the gold from under it, between the two of us." The bull believed him. He agreed, saying: "I shall run at the rock from a distance, butt it with my head and fling it aside."

But the plan failed, and one of his horns came loose in the attempt. When the bull's horn came loose, the rabbit grabbed hold of it and ran off.

After that the rabbit went to the coast, to the shores of the great sea. There he met a lizard. Upon meeting the lizard, he said: "Oh, *compadre*, oh, uncle, we are relatives, let's get to know one another. I have come here with a few little things; have some of this food and drink." He had brought bread and all kinds of good foods with him. And to drink, he had brought wine. By giving the lizard food and making him drink the wine, he soon caused him to fall into a drunken sleep. Then, while he was sleeping, the rabbit hit him on the back with a stick. But the lizard overcame the blow and escaped into the water.

Thinking that he would find other lizards, the rabbit met up with the same lizard again. This time he deceived him by dressing in different

clothing. He addressed the lizard: "Oh, *compadre*, oh, uncle, I have come here to make your acquaintance. I am passing by with these little morsels of food. Let's eat this right here." When the rabbit spoke in this way, the lizard didn't believe him. He said: "You people aren't my relatives. A few days back a man came by just like that. Just like you he wanted to befriend me, he gave me all kinds of food and drink. When I was asleep he hit me with a stick. But he didn't kill me. If he had hit me on the flat of my tail he would have killed me. But he didn't hit me there, he struck me on the back. So I didn't die. Now I want nothing to do with you."

"No," said the rabbit, "I'm not that sort. I'm not that kind. Just take this and eat, just drink this."

Whereupon the lizard gave in, took the food, ate and drank his fill. After eating, he became drunk in just the same way and fell asleep. While he was sleeping, the rabbit grasped a stick, hit him a blow on the flat of his tail, killed the lizard, and extracted one of his teeth.

After pulling out one of the lizard's teeth, he carried the two things back and showed them to God: "Now I have brought everything you asked for. I am bringing you these things, now you must make me grow bigger." So God said: "Yes, bring them here. Now you are going to grow, but not all of you."

And taking him by the ears, he held him aloft. Holding him up, the ears alone grew longer. God spoke: "You are an ill-mannered creature for complaining to me in that way. You will go now and live as best you can, in holes in the ground and eating only dry grass. May the fox and other animals catch you and eat you."

So saying, God sent the rabbit on his way with only his ears grown longer!

Informant: GGG, 17th May, 1976

some as for Tale 46, plus:

| | |
|-------|---|
| L420 | Overweening ambition punished |
| Q338 | Immoderate request punished |
| H1010 | Impossible tasks |
| H1371 | Impossible quests |
| Q512 | Punishment: performing impossible task |
| K100 | Deceptive bargains |
| K1810 | Deception by disguise |
| K2010 | Hypocrite pretends friendship but attacks |

Tale 48: *El conejo y taita Diosito*

Es que ha dicho el taita Diosito al conejo que vaya a recoger entonces todo los necesarios remedios, para que creces un poco más. Que vaya a recoger ni sé qué, mantecas ese, que vaya a coger el lágrima de doncella. Entonces está saliendo y ha estado exprimiendo vaca, dice, las doncellas. Entonces está saliendo dice por ahí. Por cuesta de vaquería. Diz que ha dicho: - Oye, oye - diz que ha dicho -, oye, doncella, vos aquí estás tranquilo. Taita mama ya han ido matando los ladrones - diz que ha dicho -, oye, deja de exprimir la vaca. En seguidita la doncella pone a llorar. Diz que ha dicho: - No llores, ha de en balde caer lágrima en el suelo, espere para coger. Entonces ha cogido pues lágrima, entonces, de doncella, conejo. Con eso ha ido ya donde taita Dios, todito recogiendo, todo los necesarios.

Ha dicho ahora sí, falta el flor de viento. No sé qué sería flor de viento dice. Entonces no ha podido conseguir, dónde. Encontrado dice con el raposo. Es que ha dicho, preguntado: - Oye, tío, - diz que ha dicho -, vos ha de saber onde es que ha dicho, a mí sólo quieres comer no más. Pero comiendo a mí, ¿qué has de llenar la barriga? Si comes al borrego enterota no llenas barriga cuando a mí un bocado he de hacer," es que ha dicho - por si acaso, tío, vengo a preguntar, vos has de saber, el flor de viento, ¿qué es?

Entonces ahí el raposo es que ha dicho nada: - Anda tú a una peña grande. Ahí ha de haber unas flores blancas; ésas andas llevando - diz que ha dicho.

- Sí - diciendo, es que ha ido llevando, ha sido en peña grande, diz que ha rodado el conejo. Pero sin embargo vuelta no ha sido ese flor. El otro tonto también ha mandado engañando. Como engaña el otro, así mismo.

The rabbit and God

Well, God told the rabbit to go and fetch all the necessary medicines to make him grow bigger. He told him to go and fetch a maiden's tears. So off he went along the slope leading to a dairy where there were some girls milking the cows. "Hey," he called, "your parents have killed those rascals (the girls' suitors?), stop milking the cows." At once the girls began to weep. "Don't cry," said the rabbit, "your tears are falling on the floor for nothing, let me catch them." So he gathered the maiden's tears and brought them to God.

God then said he needed some 'flower of the wind', and the rabbit couldn't find this anywhere. Then he met the fox and said: "Hey, uncle, you must know where this thing is, but you only want to eat me. How will you fill your belly eating me? If eating a whole sheep you aren't satisfied, I would be only a mouthful. By the way, uncle, do you know what a 'flower of the wind' is?"

Then the fox said: "Go to that high cliff, there there will be some white flowers; take those."

So the rabbit went to the high cliff and there he fell and rolled down the precipice. And it hadn't even been that flower. So the fox too had tricked the rabbit, just as the latter was always tricking the fox.

NB when asked whether there were other things the rabbit was told to collect, the informant added *piqui ñutcu*/brain of a flea, and *pilis huira*/fat of a tick, to the list

Informant: EDC, 29th October, 1976

some as for Tale 47, no additions

Tale 49: Conejo Jesushuan apuesto

Jesushuan conejohuan tupashoa nin. Tupashpaca nina nin: - Bueno, can juin vivo cangui - nina nin -, ñucapish chashmallatami cani. Can tucuita yachangui, ñucapish tucuita yachanini. Cunan shug apuestota ruhuashun - nina nin.

Apuestota ruhuashun nishpaca entonces bueno, ¿ima apuestota? Entonces cunan: - Ricushun pimi manchachinchi - nina nin -, canchu ñucata manchachingui, ñucachu canta manchachini.

Chai pi nina nin - Bueno - nin Jesusca.

Entonces: - ¿Ima horasta manchachinacushun? - nin.

Bueno entonces shug punzha citado ña manchachingapa.

Entonces paica tandana nin achca musgota. Achca musgota tandashpa libre quillparina nin musgohuan. Tucui musgohuan taparishpaca entonces shug punzha ña Jesus pasacugpica: 'pizhig pizhig pizhig' nishpa callpana nin Jesuspa changa ucuta pasarina nin. Nina nin Jesusca: - Chaica ñuca mana mancharinichu. Cunan canta manchachishachu - nina nin-, canca ña manchachingui. bueno cunan canta manchachina cani. Entonces paica: - Bueno, cunan ñucata manchachi. Entonces nigpica nina nin: - Bueno. Cungailla trueno shamuna nin, 'tararan' juin 'tararan'. Chaipi paita singuchishca ninmi, achcata singush rishca nin. Entonces chashma chai achcata corrish ña rishpaca nina nin: - ¿Ima graciasta ruhuanguiari ninahuanca? Ñucaca mana ninahuan manchachircanichu. ¿Ima graciastari canca? Mana chashnaca graciaschu - nishca nin. Chaillami.

The rabbit has a bet with Jesus

Jesus and the rabbit met one day and on meeting, the rabbit said: "Well, you're very clever, and so am I. You know everything, and so do I. So let's have a bet." So he suggested having a bet: what was it? "Let's see which of us can frighten the other," he said, "can you frighten me, or can I be the one to frighten you?" "Very well," said Jesus. "When shall we frighten each other, then?" And so they fixed a day for the frightening.

So then the rabbit gathered a lot of moss and completely covered himself with it. Having completely covered himself with moss, when Jesus passed by he made a frightening noise and ran between Jesus's legs. Said Jesus: "That doesn't frighten me, Now I shall frighten you. You have had your turn, now it is up to me to frighten you." "Very well," said the rabbit, "you frighten me." When he agreed, so Jesus surreptitiously caused a clap of thunder to echo loudly and the rabbit to roll down a hill in fright. As he ran off, the rabbit called: "What kind of joke is that, frightening me with fire? I'm not frightened by fire. That's no joke!" That's all.

Informant: GGG, 5th November, 1976

no additions

Commentary

1.0 Introduction

These have been placed in a sub-group apart, due to the explanatory, quasi-mythological genre to which they appear to belong. In this capacity they suggest a wider tradition into which the fox and rabbit cycle may be seen to fit, and provide a link between the trickster and the explanatory tales. As I stated in the introductory remarks in Chapter 2, the commentary is confined to comparative analysis, and also to showing the place these tales hold in the context of Cañar narrative tradition. It is considered that a structural analysis would contribute little new to our understanding of that, so it is not undertaken for these or for the tales in sub-section (iii), which are mainly unaltered borrowings.

2.0 Tale 46

This tale in particular suggests an aetiological context for the whole of the fox and rabbit cycle: it begins with the idea that the fox was originally cursed for stealing a lamb belonging to the Infant Jesus, follows the fox and rabbit through a series of trickster-type episodes in the style of Tales 38-45 (although much of the content of these is new, the pattern is the same), and ends with the rabbit returning to the Virgen to announce complacently that he has punished the fox for his crime. The Virgen, however, is displeased at the rabbit's presumption and he too is punished. The curse of the fox links the tale with the Section B tales: as we saw in Tale 33, the fox is only one of a number of animals who are cursed for causing the Virgen's displeasure at the time of the birth of Jesus. The explanatory ending whereby we learn 'how the rabbit got long ears' is found as a narrative in its own right: Tale 47 is an independent variant on the theme.

It appears then that this text incorporates elements of three areas of narrative tradition which are more usually kept separate: the Christ Child cycle; the fox and rabbit cycle; the 'rabbit's ears' fable. Its particular value is as a further illustration of the mechanisms of oral narrative composition whereby associations suggested by the structure, or in this case content, of the narrative should bring about intermingling between different branches of tradition. One branch tells us of the Virgen's curse of the fox, another of traditional enmity between fox and rabbit, another of a primordial curse on the rabbit. What more natural a step then, than for a tale to evolve which seeks to establish a logical link between the three? The present text appears to do this. In addition, it should be added, it gives us further insight into the sadistic sense of humour with which the rabbit's treatment of the fox is popularly described.

3.0 Tales 47 and 48

A variant of Tale 47 was provided, but is not presented here as it contributes nothing substantially new to GGG's version. EDC's account (Tale 48) is included as it provides additional details of the objects 'taita Diosito' is thought to have asked the rabbit to fetch. Also it offers an interesting interlude, counterpart to the usual pattern, in which the fox succeeds for once in deceiving the rabbit into inflicting pain on himself. The incident is so out of the ordinary that the informant himself remarks upon it.

4.0 Tale 49

This contributes further to the popular traditions regarding the cheeky character of the rabbit, who in mythological times, we are told, even had the presumption to challenge Jesus, the culture hero figure, to a bet.

Section C sub-section (c); Didactic fables

Texts

Tale 50: *Ucuchacuna*

Entonces ucucha tiyana nin; shugca chayug, shugca pobre. Entonces pobre ucuchaca urcumanta y chai ucuchaca ucu estanciamanta. Entonces chai pobre ucuchaca de repente tupanacun chayug ucuchahuan. Nin:

- Hombre, canca ima ruhuash puricungui caipita?

Entonces, ima shuti: - Mana micushca chashna sansa sansa puricungui. Jacu ñuca huasiman. Ñuca huasipica tiyanmi aicha, tiyanmi queso, tiyanmi tucui jamones, tucumi tiyan. Jacu micushpa cutinguillami. Pusharin.

Entonces pusharishpaca imata pasan... entonces ña nin, punguta pasarin chai: - Caiپی yaicushpa micuilla imatami can gushtangui. Jamón mai tiyarina nin. Entonces jamón huarcushca cacushpa ucucha shamurmari. Pai cutin jamonpi huarcushpa cacugpi criadaca mishi marcashca yaicunlla. Mishi marcashca yaicushpaca entonces, ima tucun? sustohuanea nin manara ni alli mallishpa entonces urman atirin shinapiash mishimantaca.

Tupana nin entonces ña cai shug chayug ucuchaca: - ¡Imata pasan? - Mana ima hombre, ima mana ima pasanichu. Cashna aunque pobre mi causani ñucaca mana ñucaca charinichu can shinaca, pero ñucaca urcupica aunque huahuar muritohuan, tranquilomi pasani ñucaca, mana cashna susto charinichu. Casimi mishi avanzan. Rinillami ñuca llagtaman. Cutirin paipa llagtaman. Entonces chaipica ña, cai shugca cutirin, pobre ucuchaca urcuman, chayug saquirin ucupi. Nirca: - Ñuca masmi tranquilo causani urcupi huahuar muruhuan pero menos cashna susto charini. Nirca paipa llagtapi causangapa.

The town mouse and the country mouse

There were once a rich mouse and a poor mouse. The poor mouse was from the hills, and the rich mouse from a hacienda. One day the poor mouse met the rich mouse along the way. The latter said: "Why friend, what are you doing in these parts? You look quite faint for want of food. Let's go to my house where there is meat, cheese, ham, all kinds of food. Come along, then you can go home with a full belly." So he took him with him.

They went in through a door and the rich mouse said: "Go through here and ust eat whatever takes your fancy."

There were lots of hams suspended from the ceiling, and the mouse made for them. As he was hanging onto one of the hams, the maid came into the room with a cat in her arms. Then what do you think happened? In a great fright, without having really tried a good mouthful of the ham, the mouse fell down and escaped from the cat.

When he met the rich mouse again, the latter asked: "What's the matter?" "Nothing, friend, nothing. But although I don't have lots to eat like you, although I only live on wild mountain berries, I live peacefully, without threat. The cat almost caught me. I'm going back to my own home."

And he returned to the hills, while the rich mouse stayed in the hacienda. The poor mouse said: "I may only live on wild berries, but

I live peacefully."

And he went back to his own home to live.

Informant: MJA, 13th April, 1976

cf. A-T112: The town mouse and the country mouse. Latter prefers poverty with safety (J211.1)

Tale 51: Ucuchacunapa congreso

Ucuchapura ña congreso ruhuashpaca nin. - Oi, canca ashun ñugpa huiñaimi cangui. Imata tucunchimishica ñucanchitaca juin maltratan, juin perseguin, huañuchish c'atin y micush c'atin. Entonces shinaca, imata ruhuaipi canchi? - nishpa nin congreso ruhuancuna, Chaipi entonces chai rucu ucuchaca nishca nin: - Mana, entonces mishipa cungapi cascabelta huarucushishun. Cascabel nishcata. Chai 'chililin' nish shamupica sentishunmi ñucanchipish. Chaimanta ñucanchi uyarigpi mana ricunchu. Cunanca cutin mishimanca imata paicunaca churachinga ima cascabel ni imata. Mishica imata saquina churachichunca cungapi. Entonces shinashpami entonces ña congreso tucurina nin.

The mice's meeting

The mice held a meeting together and addressed the oldest among them; "You are the oldest of us all. What will become of us, the cat ill-treats us, it chases us, kills us and eats us. What can we do?" they asked at the meeting.

So the old mouse said: "Let's hang a bell around the cat's neck. When it tinkles we shall hear him coming. And when we hear it, we shall be able to escape without him seeing us."

But then they couldn't get the bell around the cat's neck at all. As if the cat was going to let anything be placed around his throat! And so the meeting came to an end.

Informant: MJA, 13th April, 1976

cf. A-T110: Belling the cat. The mice buy a bell for the cat but no-one dares tie it on her (J671.1)

Tale 52: Solitariondi chucurillundi

Caipi cutin shug cachu. Shug chucurilluhuan shug solitariohuan tupanacurcucuna. Chaimantaca nirca, chucurilluca nirca: - Oi, solitario, canca ima shinata jahua pachapi volash pundingui? - nirca, Chaimantaca: - Alaja yurag chupita cangui canca, alajitota ricuringui cielopica - nirca.

Envidioso juin carca chai chucurillu.

Chaimantaca solitarioca nirca: - Bueno yachachisha - nirca ña.

Entonces: - Bueno - nirca cai shugpish.

Chaimantaca nirca: - Ñuca chupapi amuilla - nirca -, ñuca ña juin altota volashpaca tapushami - nirca.

Chaimi: - Chucurillu volacunguichu? - nishpa tapurca. Chaimantaca pero nirca: - Hn, ningui - nirca.

Ashtan ashtan ña altota volashpaca cutin tapurca: - Chucurillito, volacunguichu? - nin.

Chapica cai shug sonsoca 'ja' nirca, shimita pascarca, Chaimantaca

shimita pascashpaca chupamanta cachagrirca. Chaimantaca caru ña huañushca, pambamanca urmarca, - Ña imata yachachungui, imata volanata yachachungui, ima.
Ashtan huañuipi taririrca, Chaimi shug cachito carca ñucahuan.

The solitary bird and the weasel

Here's another funny tale. One day the weasel met the solitary. Said the weasel: "Hey, solitary, how do you manage to fly through the sky like that? You look so pretty with your white tail flashing as you fly."

Replied the solitary: "It's easy to learn how to fly through the sky." The weasel was very envious of the bird's talent. So the solitary said: "Very well, I'll teach you."

And the weasel agreed. "Just hold on to my tail in your teeth and when I am flying very high I shall ask you a question. You must be sure to only answer 'hn'."

So up they flew and when they were high the solitary asked: "Are you flying, weasel?"

"Hn," replied the other cautiously.

Higher and higher they went until again the solitary asked: "Are you flying, little weasel?"

But now the stupid weasel opened his mouth and said: "Ha."

When he opened his mouth like that, he released the solitary's tail and fell far below to his death. You foolish weasel, as if you could ever learn to fly, you just met your death instead. That was another tale from me.

Informant: PD, 4th August, 1976

cf. A-T225: The crane teaches the fox to fly. Lets him fall to earth
 L420 Overweening ambition punished
 L421 Attempt to fly to heaven punished
 K1041 Borrowed feathers. Dupe lets himself be carried aloft by bird and dropped

Tale 53: C'ari tucushca sapo

Caipi cutin shug cacho. Shug sapito juin c'ari tucudo, shug valiente tucushca sapito. Shug punzha chai señor sapoca shug fiestaman ricurca. Chai fiestaman ricugpica shug ratoncito tuparca. Nirca: - Señor sapito, maimanta ricungui?- nirca.

Chaipica: - Ñucaca fiestaman ricuni - nirca p'iña p'iñata -, escaramuzacunata ricungapami ricuni. Jacu - nirca.

- Ama shug tonto caichu, amo sapito. Escaramuzacunaca sarungami - nirca.

Chaimanta paica juin c'ari tucudo: - Ñucami sarusha ashtan escaramuzacunata - nirca.

Chaimantaca nirca ña.

Fiesta pambapi ña paica ishcai maquita caderas churashpaca valienteta shayacurca. Chaimantacashi filón de escaramuzas shamushpaca sapotaca tropellarirca juin. Chaimanta ashtan mana huañushcalla. Chaimanta ña ratoncito curiosoca rishpaca nirca: - Ya ves señor sapito, manchu nircani? Chaica riqui ñuca nishcaca llugshin - nirca.

Chaimantaca cutin shayarishpa nirca: - Cunan cai vez shamugpica ñucami sarusha - nirca chai sapitoca.

Cutin escaramuzacuna shamushpaca de una vez bestia herrajepi maitacha aparircacuna sapotaca nin. Huellas mana ricurirca chai fiesta pambapi. Chaimi shug sapito valiente tucushpa, shug sapito a'ari tucushpa muerteta tarirca. Chaimi chai cachito, chaillapi tucurin.

The vain frog

Here's another funny story. There was once a very bold frog. One day this bold Mr. Frog was on his way to a *fiesta*. On the way he met a mouse who said to him: "Good-day, Mr. Frog, where are you going?" "I'm off to the *fiesta*," replied he, crossly, "I want to see those horses perform in the *escaramuza*. Come along too." "Don't be stupid, Mr. Frog. The horses will trample you underfoot." But the frog went ahead.

Arriving on the *fiesta* field, he stood there bravely his hands on his hips. Then along came a parade of performing horses and bowled him over, almost killing him but not quite. At that moment the inquisitive mouse came by: "You see now, Mr. Frog, didn't I tell you? That's just what I said would happen."

But the frog stood his ground saying: "When they come by again it will be I who will trample them."

Again the horse parade came by and this time quite carried the frog away in their hooves. Not a trace was left of him on the *fiesta* plain. That's how the vain frog found his death. That's the end of the tale.

Informant: PD, 4th August, 1976

J652 Inattention to warnings

J652.1 Frog persists in living in puddle on road. Disregards advice of another frog and is run over

Q331.2 Vanity punished

Tale 54: Huanchacahuan zarzahuan

Shug huanchaca envidiata charirca zarzahuan. Zarzata tapurca: - ¿Ima shinata canca yurag cangui? - nishpa.

Zarzaca nircami: - Nucaca rasu quillpag ratomi siriringapa rircani.

Chashnashpami yurag cani. Campish chashna ruhuai.

Arita nishpa rircami huanchacaca chai rasupi siriringapa. Chaimantaca caspiyashpa huañucushpa nircami: - Yuragyacunimi yuragyacunimi! - nishpa huañurca.

Chaimanta chaipi tucurirca, chai rasupi.

The opossum and the heron

There was once an opossum who was jealous of the heron. "How is it that you are white?" he asked.

"When there was snow on the ground, I went to lie in it. That's how I am white. You do it too."

Accordingly the opossum went and lay in the snow. Then as he grew stiffer and stiffer with cold he called out: "I'm turning white! I'm turning white!" and so saying, he died.

That's how he ended, in that snow.

Informant: AB, 4th August, 1976

Q302 Envy punished

K1000 Deception into self-injury

Commentary

1.0 Introduction

These five texts comprise a miscellany of animal fables of a type much less commonly told than the fox and rabbit tales, each with a more or less overt didactic message. Some are immediately recognizable as indebted to Indo-European tradition, particularly Aesopic sources, others have become rather more integrated into Andean tradition. As commentary on them is brief, I have chosen simply to make a few remarks about them as a group, rather than look at each text separately

2.0 Tales 50-54

Tale 50 is familiar to a European as the tale of the 'Town mouse and the country mouse' (A-T112), and the message it carries in Cañar seems to differ little from that. I found no variants, however a version from S. Peru collected by Leslie Hoggarth contains an interesting indian 'twist' in its ending: the poor country mouse is caught and eaten by the city cat. Tale 51 is an unchanged version of A-T110, of which I found no variants. Tale 52 is to be found in variant forms quite widely in the Andes, and appears to be the most 'native' of the group; Morote Best has made an extensive study of similar tales in which the vain fox achieves the same fate as the weasel in the present text (1958b). Tale 53 is of interest for the local reference it contains to *fiesta* customs: La Capilla, where the informant comes from celebrates San Pedro each year on 29th June with ceremonial dances on horseback known as '*escaramuzas*'. Tale 54 is of a familiar Aesopic type, but also one that is quite widespread in the Andes: comparison may be made with LS/IM/7: "*Garzahuan anguhuan*", JC/IM/28: "*Anga shuj garzahuan*", and also with Tale 40 of group (i), in which the fox expresses desire for a white tail. A Peruvian version is to be found in Morote Best entitled "*La apuesta para resistir el frío*" (op.cit.).

CHAPTER 6

Section D: Humorous Tales

Texts

Sub-section (a): Bawdy priest tales

Tale 55: *Taita curita Benitomanta*

Shug taita curita charina nin shug c'uyashcata: Allpata charina nin chai c'uyashcata ladopi. Chai c'uyashcata cusayu cana nin. Chai allpaca nin chai c'uyashcata ladollapi qu'ihua, chaipi tiyana nin taita curitapa vaca. Chai vacaca shuti cana nin Cachuda. Chai Cachuda shuti vaca chai qu'ihuapi cada punzha pasacashca nin tuta y punzha. Peoncuna rishca musashpa cutin yacuchishpa chaillapica huatashpa cutin cashpa. Taita curitaca mana rig cashca. Bueno, taita cura rishpa chai c'uyashcapaman rishpa, vacata chapash cutin shamug cashca.

Pero chai c'uyashca huarmi ca juin huageha cana nin. Chaimanta nina nin cusa shamugpi: - Taita curitapa vaca juin huira. Chai aichata micush causanchimanchari ashtaca, causaita japinchimanchari - nishca nin. Cusa nina nin: - Huarmi, cunan tuta ricushun lluchushun. Entonces rincuna nin apamungapa potreromanta vacata. Ucuman yaicuchishpa vacata llushtincuna nin, taita curapa vacata.

Chai vaca llushtincunaca charina nin shug uquilla huambta, c'ari huambata. Entonces cayandi, imachandi, ishcai quimsa punzha pasashca qu'ipa chai huambaca ñanman llugshishca allpahuan ñampi pugllangapa. Ñampi allpahuan pugllacushpa caica cantai callarina nin. Taita curapa vacata llushtishcata ricushpa nina nin: - La vaca Cachuda del Padre Benito, peló mi taita en cuarto chiquito, peló mi taita en cuarto chiquito- nina nin.

Chaimanta taita cura shug tarde pasacushpa chashna cantacugta uyashca, huambra cantacugta. Chaimanta huambata pushashpa rirca, conventoman alli churanata churachishpa, allicunata carashpa. Chaimanta ninmi shug misapi ña rimai callarin nin: - Tucui huahuacuna ima nishcata verdadmi, mana llullachu - nishpa. Predicai callarishca nin misapi. Taita curaca pensashca vacata entonces tarinata y presonata chai llushtincunata cobrangapa.

Pero huambaca misaman aparishpa nichun nigpica mana uyashca. Nishca nin: - Padre Benitoca ñuca mamapaman rinllami. Chai cutin nichun nigpi mana nisha nishpa chashnallata; - Padre Benitoca ñuca mamapaman rinllami. Chashna chai verdadtapi verdadta nin huahuacunaca verdadtami nin nishcata, mana paipa favor llugshirca sino gentecunapa taita curapa contra llugshirca.

Father Benito

There was a priest who had a mistress. And he had a plot of land beside his lover's house. His mistress was married. Grass grew on the land just beside his mistress's house, so the priest's cow was put there to graze. The cow's name was Cachuda. Cachuda the cow would spend day and night in that pasture. The farmhands would go there to care for the cow, moving its stake from plot to plot and

giving it water. The priest didn't go there. Well, the priest would go to his mistress's house as if he had come to look after the cow.

However his woman was very poor. When her husband came home, she said to him: "The priest's cow is very fat. If we were to eat that meat we would really be able to live a little, we'd really be able to get a living."

And her husband replied: "Wife, tonight let's see if I can skin the beast. So they went to bring the cow from the meadow. They led it in and skinned it, the priest's cow.

Now that couple who had skinned the cow had a son. About a fortnight later, the boy went out one day along the road to play with sticks and stones. As he was playing with the sticks and stones in the road, he began to sing. He had seen the priest's cow skinned, so he sang these words: "My father skinned the cow, Father Benito's cow, skinned it in the backshop, Father Benito's cow."

Now one afternoon the priest was passing by and heard the youngster singing this song. So he took the boy with him to the convent, dressed him in fine clothes and gave him lots of good things. Then he started to preach in the Mass saying: "Everything that children say is the truth; children do no lie," he said. He began preaching this in the Mass. For the priest was hoping to find the cow and take prisoner the people who had flayed it, in order to fine them.

He took the boy to the Mass to speak out the truth, by the boy didn't heed his instructions. Instead he declared: "Father Benito goes to my mother's house."

And so his sermon declaring that all children always speak the truth didn't come out in his favour. Instead, the people turned against the priest.

Informant: GGG, 20th May, 1976

cf. A-T1735A: Bribed boy sings the wrong song. The sexton steals the priest's cow. The next day the sexton's son sings 'My father stole the priest's cow'. The priest pays the boy to sing in church. But the sexton teaches the boy a new song 'The priest has lain with my mother', and this is sung in church. (see also Tale 56)

- X410 Jokes on parsons
- V465.1 Incontinence of clergy
- K1271 Amorous intrigue observed and exposed
- K435 Child's song incriminates thief
- K1631 The bribed boy sings the wrong song

Tale 56: *Taita curita Marianoca*

Taita curita Marianoca charina nin shug vaquitata, Vaquitata shuhuagrín. Shuhuashca nina nin:- Pi yachashpa, pi noticia huillachun vaca shuhua-shcataca ñucaca fuerzata cusha pagashami. Cai huambra sonso shug punzha capulista p'itishpa micucuna nin, yuraman huichaicushpa cantashca nin: - Taita curita Marianopa vacata taita shuhumurcamí. Cinanca taita curita yachashpaca imatacha ninga? Taita curita Marianoca nish cantacuna nin capulis yurapi.

Curitaca confesionman rirca shayash uyan. Uyacushpaca entonces uraicuchin: - Oi huahuata, imata cantacungui?

*- Caitami cantacuni: - 'Taita curita Marionopa vaquitata taita shuhuamurca. Cunanca taita curita Mariano yachash imatacha ninga?'
- Cantai, hijo, cantai. Caica pichca sucre, Ri mamapaman apashpa. Cayaca shinallata cantangui.*

Huambritoca volashpa rirca. Capulis micunata shitash jichushpa cantarashca: - Mamita, ñuca cashna cantacurcanimi. Capulista micush micushpa taita curitami cana ninmi. Entonces chaimi regalash cachan.

- Imata cantacurcangui?

- Mana ima - nin -, cashnami cantacurcani ñuca: 'Taita curita Marianopa vaquitata taita shuhuamurca, taita curita yachashpa imatachari ninga?' nishpa cantacurcani.

Entonces mamaca sustuyarina nin: - Imatata ningapa shamungui?

- Caya cantachun nin misapi. Mamitaca shamuchun ninmi. Entonces cunanca rinatami charingui.

Mamaca yuyarin entonces imallata ruhuashpa caran ajuan mudachin tuoui:

- Mana, mana hijo. Ama cunanca caita cantanguichu cashnaca, Ima shina cantangui, cashnaca cantangui cai modo: cashna ningui: 'Taita curita Mariano mamitahuan shamush sueñarca. Taitito yachashpaca imatacha ninga?' cashna cantanguilla.

Taita curitaca cushilla tupana nin huahuataca aisashpa maquinanta:

- Cantai hijo, cantai. Ima shinami caina cantarcangui. Shinami caipi gente uyashpa yachachun. Imamantami, canca uchillita huahua cangui, pero canca juin umata charishcangui.

Ña cantai callarin nin huahuaca nina nin: - Taita curita Mariano mamitahuan sueñarca. Taita yachashpaca imatacha ninga?

Chaita uyashpa de puro susto taita ataque cushpa huafuna nin. Ña de una vez huafuna nin. Ataqueta puro vergüenza sustocuna nin, golpe de corazón. Paica vacata shuhuashcata yachanata yuyan ashun cutin ña huahuapa mamaca shugta estudiachishpaca! Entonces ña chaita cantachishpa cunanca imata mana pingai cashcanga pero!

Father Mariano

One day someone stole Father Mariano's cow, and he declared: "I will pay a reward to anyone who can tell me who stole my cow."

Now one day a silly young village lad climbed up into a *capuli* tree and, as he picked and ate the fruit, he sang the following words:

"My father stole Father Mariano's cow. What would the priest say if he knew?"

Thus he sang as he sat in the *capuli* tree.

Now the priest was on his way to hear confession and he stood to listen. Hearing the words, he made the boy come down from the tree: "Hey, youngster, what's that you're singing?" he asked.

The boy told him: "My father stole Father Mariano's cow. What would the priest say if he knew?"

"Sing, my son, sing," said the priest, "here are five sucres. Take them home to your mother and tomorrow sing just like that."

So the child ran home, in his haste throwing away the black cherries he had not eaten, and still singing. "Mother," he called, "this is how I was singing as I was eating cherries, and the priest gave me a present." "What were you singing?"

"Nothing really, just this; 'My father stole Father Mariano's cow; what would the priest say if he knew?' That's what I was singing." Then his mother grew very alarmed: "What's that you've come to tell me?" she asked,

"Tomorrow the priest wants me to sing in the Mass, and he wants you to come along too. So you must go."

So his mother eagerly gave her son some tasty food to persuade him to change the song: "No, no son. Don't sing those words. Sing this instead: 'Father Mariano came to sleep with my mother; what would my father say if he knew?' Just sing that."

The priest was very happy when he met the child the next day, taking him by the hand and saying: "Sing, my son, sing just as you sang yesterday, so the people can learn a thing or two when they hear you. For although you are a small child, yet you have a wise head on your shoulders."

So the child began to sing the following: "Father Mariano slept with my mother; what would father say if he knew?"

Hearing that the priest dropped dead of pure shock! He had a heart attack from the shock and the shame! He had known the one song about the theft of his cow, but the child's mother had taught him another one. And when the boy sang it, well, who wouldn't have been ashamed?!

Informant: MJA, 13th April, 1976

as for Tale 55, no additions

Tale 57: Taita curitahuan yanudorhuan

Shug taita curita tiyana nin, juin misag cana nin, Chaimanta shug yanudorcuna yanudoracuna yaicuna nin. Maijenca quillata maijenca ishcai semanata maijenca quillallallita uyayashpa llugshina nin. Mana unaita yanunata valina nin taita curita mana achca cullquita cug cashecanta. Taita curitaca semanapi pichca chunga sucrellata cushpa tucui laya micunata carachun semanapi. Chashna mana aguantashpa ni pi mana aguantash pudinta ricushpa shug huauquindi mozocuna tiyana nin. Shugca shuti cana nin Shina. Chaica nina nin huauquita: - Oi huauqui ñuca rinimi chai taita curapa yanudor tucungapa cullquita ganangapa. Chaipi nina nin huauquica: - Oi huauqui, imatata nishpa chaitata pensaringui? Chaita yuyanaca mana allichu. Chai taita curaca acaso achca cullquita cunga canmanca, ni pipish mana aguanta yicanchu aguantasha ningui nish?

Chaimanta huauqui nina nin: - Mana huauqui, ñuca Shinami cani. Paipa shutica carca chican shuti pero paica shuti rirca Shina nishpa: - Shina shutimi cani - nirca.

Entonces rirca taita curitapa conventoman tapungapa sichu yanudorpi chasquisha nin o mana. Taita curitahuan tupashpa parlarca. Taita curita nirca: - Ari. Yaicumi, yanui - nirca. Paica ashalla paipa cullquita charishca carca. Paipa cullquita charishpaca taita cura cushca cullquita charishpaca, taita cura cushca cullqui semanapi faltagpica paipa cullquihuan micunata randishpa tucui semanapi carag cashea. Chai semanapi tucui allita caragpica taita curitaca nishca: - Ah, cai yanudormi alli cashea. Cunancari caica unai huatatami ñuachuan causanga. Chashna yanushpa causarca ishcai quilla, quimsa quilla, ña unaita causarca. Chaipi taita curita nirca: - Cai yanudorca nin juin

alli yanudor cashca. Tucuita pagtachin ñuca cushoa cullquimanta. Cunanca shug fiestata ruhuasha - nirca.

Chai fiestata ruhuashpa tucui taita curapa familiacuna tucuita c'aya-shpa fiestata ruhuai callarirca. Uviarca. Taita curitapish uviashpa chai mesapi sueñushpa saquirishca. Entonces chai yanudorca taita curita sueñun nishpa marcashpa rirca camapi shitangapi. Camapi sueñuchun saquirca alli pilluchishpa sumagta sueñuchun. Chashna sumagta sueñucugpi rirca pintana tintacunata tiendapi randingapa. Chai pintana tintata apamushpa taita curita sueñucugpi ñahuita tucui laya tintahuan pintarca. Ñahuita pintashpa chashna sueñuchun saquirca. Paica cullquita apashpa llugshirirca, tucui taita curapa charishca cullquita shuhuashpa llugshishca rirca.

Chaimantaca taita curitaca jatirin. Pai mana sentirca ñahui pintashca canata. Jatarishpa rirca tiendacunapi tapungapa: - ¿Manachu ñuca Shinata ricurcangui? - nisheca. Cai shug tienda chai shug tienda tapurca. Shug tiendapi yaioun nirca: - ¿Manachu ñuca Shinata ricurcangui? - Mana. Mana taita curita canta mana shinata ricushcanchihu - nircacuna. Cutin shugpi tapurca: - ¿Manachu ñuca Shinata ricurcangui? Chaipi chashnallata nircacuna: - Mana, taita curita. Mana shinata cantaca ricushcanchihu. Cutin chashnallata tucui tiendacunapi nirca: - Ñuca Shinata ¿manachu ricurcangui? - Mana, taita curita. Mana can shinataca mana ricushcanchihu. Nunca mana ricushcanchihu - nirca. Chaimanta paica mana yuyarcachu ñahui pintashcamanta shina nishcata. Paica pensarca: - Yanudor Shina tapugpi chashna huillancuna. Chashna cutin huasiman cutirishpa ñahuita jahuangapa rishpa espejopi ricushpa pai cuentapi urmarca!

The priest and his cook

There was once a very miserly priest. The cooks whom he employed in his household would only stay with him a month, others two weeks, and others just under a month. They never stayed very long as cooks there because the priest didn't give them enough money for the housekeeping. He only provided five hundred *suques* a week and he expected all kinds of foods to be served from this money. Well, there were two young brothers who could see that nobody could stand working very long for that priest. One of these brothers was named Shina ('like this'). And Shina said to his brother: "Hey, brother, I'm off to become a cook at the priest's house to earn some money." Whereupon the brother replied: "But, brother, what on earth put that idea into your head? That's a very bad idea. Perhaps you think the priest will give you lots of money, but nobody can stand working for him. And here you are thinking you will be able to." Then his brother said: "No, no, brother, my name is Shina." His name was really something else, but he went along saying that his name was Shina: "My name is Shina," he said.

So off he went to the priest's house to ask if he wanted to receive him into the convent as a cook or not. The priest replied: "Yes, come on in and start cooking."

Now the new cook happened to have a little of his own money. So as he had his own money and the money that the priest gave him, when the

priest's money ran out for the week he would buy food from his own pocket, and in this way served up meals for the whole week. With the cook operating in this way, the priest said: "Ah, this cook has turned out to be a good one. This one will stay with me for a year to be sure."

And so he lived there two months, three months, and a year. Then the priest said: "This cook really is very good. He makes the money I give him stretch for everything. Now I'm going to throw a party," he said.

And so, calling all his family to the house, he began to give a party. He drank. And when he had drunk, he fell asleep at the table. Then the cook, seeing that the priest was asleep, carried him in his arms and put him to bed. He left him well wrapped up in the bed to sleep soundly. When he was fast asleep, the cook went to buy some paint in a shop. When he brought the paint back, as the priest was still sleeping, the cook painted the priest's face with paint of all different colours. When he had painted his face, he left the priest to sleep and, taking all the money with him, he left the house. Stealing all the money the priest had given him, he left the house.

Some time later the priest got up. He didn't feel that he had paint on his face. When he had got up he went around the shops to ask whether anyone had seen his cook: "Have you seen my Shina?" (or: "Have you ever seen me like this?") he asked.

And the people replied: "No, Father, we haven't seen you like this," (or: No, we haven't seen your Shina)

In another shop he asked: "Haven't you seen my Shina?"

And there they gave him the same answer: "No, Father, we haven't ever seen you like this."

And again he asked the same question in all the shops: "Have you not seen my Shina?"

And the people all took his question the other way, and said: "No, Father, we have never seen you like this before."

He had been asking for Shina without realising that his face was covered with paint. "So this is how they reply when I ask for the cook Shina," he thought.

And so when he returned home, he went to wash his face, and looking in the mirror he realised what had happened!

Informant: GGG, 19th May, 1976

X495 Jokes on parsons - miscellaneous

Q276 Stinginess punished

J2496 "I don't know" thought to be a person's name

Tale 58: Taita curitahuan huiñachishcahuan

Taita curita shug huiñachishcata aharishca. Chai huiñachishcahuan maimampish ishcaita purig cashca nin. Shug chishi llugshishcacuna ishcaita conventomanta huiñachishcata pusharashca. Chayashcacunami shug soltera huarmipa huasiman. Chai soltera huarmica ña utcallata rigsishca casheami taita curapaca. Chaimanta chai soltera huarmita juin c'ujag cashca. Imallacunata cug cashca. Chai huarmipish juin sumag cashca. Chashna cagpimi taita curitapish munarishpa paihuan cashca.

Chai ohishica huiñachishca huambrahuana cashcamanta mana utca solterapa ucuman yaicui pudishcachu; - Ashallata shuyasha huambra sueñungacama - nishcami.

Camata tendishpa ohican ucupi sueñug tucushca. Chai huambracha chai taita cura sueñucug ucullapita chaimi cuchullapi siririshca. Ña huambra sueñurmi nishpa allilla jatarishpa ri callarishca. Chashna allilla jatarish jataricushpapish huambra uyashearcami. Uyashpa huambra jatarishpa; - Taita curaca ña shinami conventoman cutigrin - nishpa.

Cashna nishca español shimipi; - Adiós taita curita todavía es noche - nishcami.

Chashna nigpica cutin siririg tucushca.

Chai huambrapish upalla siricun nin cutinllata ñami huambracha sueñun nishpa allilla jatari callarishcami nin. Chai huambracha manallata sueñushcachu, uyacushcallatami. Ñapish nishca nin; - Adiós taita curita, ¿qué pasó? aún no es hora - nishpa.

Chashna nigta uyashpa cutin sueño tucushcami. Chai huambrapish manallata sueñoshcachu carca. Sueño tucushpallami cashcarca nin. Cutinllata; - Ñami huambra sueñun - nishpa chunlla allilla jatari callarishca.

Chai huambracha ricurcallatami. Manara sueñucushcarcachu. Ñapish taita cura jatarish jataricugpica nircallami; - Taita curita, ¿qué pasó pues? aún no es hora - nishpa.

Runa shimipica nisha nirmi; - Taita curita ¿ima tucungui? manara horaschu - nirca.

Chashnami mana jatarirca ruhuashpa pacarichirca. Tauca cuticama tutamantaca jatarishpaca taita curitaca rabiahuan ricurishpa mana ima shina llevachi pudircachu. Huambrataca shina pushashpa rircallami conventoman cutishpa.

Chaimantaca yuyarishcami utca campanapi huagtachun oachasha nishpa. Chashna yuyarishpaca utca paica rishca campanaman huichaicuna gradapi santocunata huichaindin churashpa huichaindin santocunata churashpa cutimusca. Chai huiñachishca huambrataca mandashea tuta tutapi campanapi huagtagrichun. Chai huambracha mana manchagchu cashca, tutapish rigllami cashca. Chaimanta mana manchashpa rishecallami campanangapa.

Huichaicunapica tuparishcami yananlla genteman rigchata. Paica maijen shuhuag imami canga nishpa tapui callarishca; - ¿Pita canguichi? - nishpa.

Mana imata rimarishpaca huagdashpa pambaman nish shitashea. Chaimantaca nircami; - Aja, shuhuag ¿imatata nishpa caipica puricunguiari? Cutin jahua huichaicushpa ricugpi ña shug tuparishca. Chaitapish shinallatami ruhuashecarca. Huagdashpa pambaman shitashecarca. Tapugpi mana rimarisha nishcamanta.

Chaita pasarishpa ashtahuan jahuaman huichaicugpi cutin shug tuparishca chaitapish tapushca; - ¿Pita canguí? - nishpa. Manallata rimarishcachu. Chaimanta huagdashpa pambata shitashecallatami. Shina ruhuashpa ña campanapi huagdashca. Taita curaca uyacushcami cashca mana huagtag pudigpi cutigpica llevachingapa. Ñapish campanata uyashpaca juin mucuricureca rabiahuan. Chai huambra ña cutimugpica tapun; - ¿Manachu ima ricurin? - nish chai huambrata nircami. Nishcami; - Picunachari huichaicuna gradapi puricushcoatami ñucaca pita canguí nishpa tapugpica mana imata rimarishcachu. Maijenllapish

chaimanta shuhuagmi canga nishpa dalishpami shamuni. Huañugcunami yuyachin. Jacu ricushun - nirca,
Taita curita rabiakuan mana ricugrishu nig tucushcachu. Huambra sueñopi pailla rishpa santo paquirishcacunata anchuchigrirca.

Chaimanta unai punshacuna pasashca qu'ipa cutin shugta yuyarirca; huañushcata cuidachun cachasha nirca. Chaimantaca nircami sacristampa huasiman. Sacristanta nirca: - Huañushca tucushpa sirigrish cui iglesia ucupi. Ñuca canman pagasha. Tutaca cuyuringuillami mancha-chingapa cuidag huambrata.

Chaita uyashpa sacristanca cushilla ari nirca huañushca tucungapa. Ña huañushca ayashina chutaracugpi chai chishi amsata huambrata cacharca: - Ri chai ayata cuidagri - nishpa.

Huambra cushillami ari nirca. Entonces: - Bolacunata randishpa cui ñucaca cuidagrishallami - nirca.

Taita curaca bolata randishpa curcami. Huambra cushillami nirca cuidangapa.

Tucui tuta mana sueñurcachu bolacunahuan pugllashpa chai huambra. Ña chaupi tuta horas cagpi aya cuyurircami manchachingapa. Huambra mana mancharcachu. Ashtahuampish candeleroa japishpa umapi huagtaroa nishpa: - Huañushcaca huañushca imapata jataringuiari? - nishpa. Cutin cutinmi huagtaroa, chaipica cutin siririshpa saquirircallami. Chashnami pacarirca cuidarashpa cutin jataringami nishpa ña mana ashtahuanca jatarircachu pacaringacama.

Taita curaca utcami ricungapa nirca iglesiapi aya ima layami pacarin nishpa. Chayashpaca huambra man tapurca: - ¿Ima shinalla pacaringui? - nishpa.

Huambra nircami: - Mana ima allillami pacarini, solo tuta aya cuyurirca. Cuyurigpica candeleroa japishpa ishcai cutin umapi huagtaroa chaipica mana ashunca cuyurircachu. Taita curaca ashtahuan mancharishpa ayata ricungapa nirca. Ayaca manata cuyurircachu huañuchishcallatami carca. Chaita ricushpa mana imata ni pudircachu. Shungullapi rabiariurca mana ima shina huiñachishcata macanata valishpa.

Sacristanta pambashe qu'ipami huiñachishcata macarca. Shug mana canata tapug tucushpa nishpa: - ¿Ima shinata mishita cayangui? - nishpa.

Huambra nircami: - Gato es señor curita - nishpa.

Shug nigta nircami 'mishi' nishpa. Taita curaca nircami: - Mana mishi ni gato sino 'misirirtapish' - nishpa.

Chaita mana huillanata pudigpimi macarca.

Cutin shugta tapurca allcuta ricuchishpa: - ¿Imata carca? - nishpa.

Huambra nircami: - Perro es señor curita - nishpa.

Chaipica nircami: - No es perro - nishpa.

Shina nigpica nircami: - Allcu es señor curita.

Chaipica nircami: - No es ni allcu ni perro sino 'oratitatis'.

Chaita tapushpami chai huiñachishcata huiñachishca huambrata macarca.

Chai huiñachishcaca rabiakuan mishita japishpa kerosinata churashpa ninata japichishpa conventondi rupachishpa llugshishpa mai caruta nirca.

The priest and his foster son

The priest had a foster son. He went everywhere together with his adopted son. One afternoon they went out from the convent together. They arrived at the house of an unmarried woman. That young woman was already known to the priest from before. She was very much loved and he had given her many little gifts. And she was very beautiful. This being so, the priest desired her and had been with her.

That afternoon because he was with the adopted lad he couldn't go into the woman's room very early. "I shall wait a little until the youngster's asleep," he said.

Spreading out his bed he went to sleep in a separate room. The youngster lay down just in the corner of the same room as the priest.

"Now the boy's asleep," said the priest, and he got up quietly and began to leave the room. Although he got up softly like that, the boy heard him. When he heard him getting up he said: "The priest is going back to the convent already."

Or in Spanish: "*Adiós taita curita todavía es noche.*"

And when the boy said that the priest lay down again.

The lad was lying quietly and once again the priest said: "Now the boy's asleep," and he began to get up slowly. But the boy just wasn't asleep, he was just listening. Yet again he said: "Goodbye, father priest. What's the matter? It isn't time yet."

When he heard him say that, the priest pretended to go to sleep again. That boy still hadn't gone to sleep. The priest was just pretending to be asleep. Yet again the priest said to himself: "Now the boy's asleep," and began to get up softly and silently.

But the boy just saw him. He still hadn't gone to sleep. Yet again he said, as the priest was getting out of bed: "Father priest, what's the matter? It isn't time to get up yet."

In Quichua he said: "*Taita curita ¿ima tucungui? manara horaschu.*"

And so the whole night passed with the boy preventing the priest from leaving his bed. On several occasions the priest got up angrily in the morning but he had no good reason for punishing the child. So he just went back to the convent taking the young lad with him.

After that he had the idea of sending the boy to ring the early morning bell. With this in mind he went early to the bell tower and set out some statues of saints on the stairway. Then he sent his ward in the middle of the night to ring the bell. The youngster wasn't afraid, although he went in the dark. Without any fear he just set off to go and ring the bell.

Reaching the staircase he met some black shapes that looked like people. Thinking to himself: "What thieves can these be?" he began to question them: "Who are you?" he asked.

When they didn't reply, he beat them and threw them to the ground. Afterwards he said: "Aha, thief, just what do you think you are doing here?"

As he went on higher up the stairs he found another figure. And he dealt with that one in just the same way. He beat it and threw it to the ground, because when he questioned it it gave no reply.

When he had passed this figure he climbed still further up the stairs and met with yet another. He asked this one also; "Who are you?" But just as before, there came no reply. So the boy gave it a beating and sent to the ground in the same way. When he had done that, he rang the bell. Now the priest was listening out, hoping to have an excuse for beating the boy when he returned without having rung the bell. So when he heard it ring he ground his teeth in fury. Then when he came back he asked the lad if he had seen anything. The youngster replied: "I wonder who on earth those people were on the staircase? When I asked them who they were, they didn't answer a word. So whoever they were, after that I gave them a good beating, thinking they must be robbers. I left them for dead. Come on, let's go and take a look at them," he said. But the priest was so angry that he didn't want to go and look. When the boy was asleep he went alone and cleared away the broken saints.

When many days had passed by the priest had another idea: "I'll send the youngster to watch over a corpse," he said to himself. So he set off to the sacristan's house. And he said to the sacristan: "Go and lie down in the church as if you were dead. I'll pay you for it. At night just move yourself a little bit to frighten my foster son."

When he heard this, the sacristan agreed quite happily to play dead. When he was stretched out like a corpse the master sent his boy off with these words: "Go and keep watch over that body." The boy agreed cheerfully, saying: "You go and buy me some marbles to play with and I'll go and watch over the body." So the priest bought the boy some marbles and, contented, the youngster went to keep watch.

He didn't sleep all night but just played with the marbles. Then at midnight the corpse began to move in order to frighten the boy. But the boy wasn't scared. Instead he took hold of a candlestick and beat the body on the head saying: "What are you getting up for, dead man?"

And he beat him again and again. Then when the corpse had lain down again he stopped hitting it. So he watched over the body all night in case it tried to get up again. But the dawn came around and it didn't move any more.

The priest came early in the morning to the church to see how the 'corpse' had slept. When he arrived he asked the boy: "How did you sleep?"

And the boy replied: "I didn't sleep at all well. In the night the corpse started to move. When it started to move I grabbed the candlestick and hit it twice on the head. After that it didn't move again."

In a great fright, the priest went to have a look at the 'corpse'. The 'body' hadn't moved again because it had simply been killed. When he saw that had happened, the priest couldn't say anything. He was very angry inside, but he had no excuse for beating his foster son.

After the sacristan had been buried, then he gave him a hiding. He found an excuse by asking him a trick question: "What do you call a cat?" he asked.

And the boy replied: "It's a '*gato*', sir."

And the other reply he gave was '*mishi*'. The priest replied that it was called neither '*gato*' nor '*mishi*', but '*misirirtapish*', (from the Latin *miserere*? - a play on words) When the boy failed to give the

right answer, he beat him. Then when he saw a dog, the priest asked another question: "What's that?" he said. The boy replied: "It's a 'perro', sir." And then he said: "No, it isn't a 'perro', it's an 'allou', sir." Thereupon the priest retorted: "It's neither 'perro' nor is it 'allou', it's 'oratitatis'." (?) And asking those trick questions he found an excuse for beating his foster son. Very angry, the lad took hold of the cat and poured paraffin over it. He set fire to both the cat and the convent and ran away who knows where!

Informant: GGG, April, 1976 (courtesy Live Drange)

cf. A-T326: The youth who wanted to learn what fear is

H1400 Fear test. A person is put to various tests in the attempt to make him show fear

V465.1 Incontinence of clergy

K1860 Deception by feigned death

J1780 Things thought to be devils, ghosts, etc.

(J2496,2 Misunderstandings because of lack of knowledge of a different language than one's own)

Tale 59: Huahuahuan nina c'uruhuan

Shug cusandi huarwindi causana nin shug campopi manchú. Chai campopi causag shug huahuata charishcacuna nin, shug bien avisgado huahua casha nin. Chai huahuata nina nin entonces, chai c'urucuna shamugpica 'taita curita' nina nin chaipi nina c'uruta. ¿Imamanta? Taita cura eucaristia ñumpa churarishca shinata chai nina c'uru. ¿Rigsingui tal vez? Chashnata huasha alaspi pintashca chashna alajito taita cura shinata. Taita cura ornamentos churashca laya, chashnata. Por ejemplo Misa de Difuntos ruhuangapa churana chashna yana, chashna pintashca. Entonces nina c'uruta nina nin taita curita chai huambra,

Entonces cada punsha shamucushca nin chai c'uruca. Chishi taita chayamugpica nina nin: - Taita curitaca ñuca mamitapamanea shamunllami. Taita cura caiman shamunata yachan.

Entonces nina nin: - Mana pi cura shamunohu caiman, huambra llullacurmi. - Mana, taita curitaca shamunllami - nina nin huambra. Chaipica ña macai callarin nin huarmita: - ¿Imamantata curahuanca caipi ñuca illagpi cangui?

Chaipica chashna macacushpa ña huanuuchin nin huarmita.

Ña huarmi huanushca qu'ipa entonces ña cusaca mana trabajoman rish huasillapi cainacuna nin. Chaipi ña chai nina c'uru shamuna nin. Chaipi huambra nina nin: - Chaica taititu, riqui, chaimi mamitapamanea shamug carca - nina nin.

Nina c'uruta ricuchin nin. - Caimi shamug carca.

Chaipica nina nin: - Qué huambra! ¿imata huillarcangui? Caica mana taita curachu! Nina c'urumi. Ñuca huarmita de gana huanuuchini canmanta - nin.

Ima mundota huacan nin. Chaipi tucurin.

The child and the glow-worm

There were a man and wife who lived in the country. They had a very rascally child. When the child saw a glow-worm by the house he would call it 'Father'. Why? Well, the design on the robe that a priest wears before the eucharist resembles a glow-worm. Perhaps you know it?

The glow-worm has a pretty design on its wings like the decoration on a priest's robes. For example, the robe that he wears for the All Souls Mass: it is a black design like that. So the youngster nicknamed the glow-worm 'Father'.

Every day the glow-worm would come to the house. In the evening when his father came back the child would say to him: "The priest just came to mother's house" The priest is in the habit of coming here." The mother denied it: "No priest comes here, the child is lying." "No, it's true, the priest does come," said the child. Whereupon the father began to beat his wife: "Why are you here with the priest when I am out?" he cried. And beating her like that, he killed his wife.

After his wife had died the husband no longer went to work, but would spend all day just at home. Then the glow-worm came along. The child said: "Look, father, that's what used to come to mother's house," and he showed him the glow-worm, "this is what used to come." Then his father said: "What a child! What did you tell me? This isn't a priest! This is a glow-worm. I killed my wife for nothing because of you." And he wept bitterly. That's the end.

Informant: GGG, 5th November, 1976

some as for Tale 58, plus:

J1820 Inappropriate action from misunderstanding

Tale 60: Beatahuan quimsa amigohuan

Cai ejemploca cashcami shina shug quimsa amigocuna tiyashca, shug beatapa noviocuna cashca, tucui chai quimsa. Juin amigocuna cashca, pero mana parlanacushca chai beatapa amigo cashcataca, ni pi ni shug ni shug ni shug. Entonces shug tutaca chai beatahuan citayashcacuna, tupangapa. Beataca nishca: - Nucahuan sueñush nishpaca a las once de la nochetá shamungui - nishca shugtaca. Entonces a las once de la noche ña rishca paica. Entonces beataca nishcami: - Entonces ña nucahuan sueñungapaca entonces penitenciata cumpli - nishca -, entonces ri iglesia pungupi huañushca tucush siricungapa, shug sabanahuan taparishpa - nishca. Entonces arita nishpa rishca y cumplishca shina ña.

Entons' cutin shug chayashca ña beatapamanca. Shinallata nishca entons': - Nuca penitencia cumplisha - nishpa cumplin. - Ri shug huañushcami iglesia pungupi siricunga, Canca chayashpaca huacacui. Chaipi huacacui, bulla ruhuacui - nishca. Ña paipish ña sueñungaraicuca rishca cumplingapa. Ña huacacushca ima mundota.

Chaimantaca cutin shug amigo ña en seguida chayashca. Chaitaca nishca ña: - Nucahuan sueñungapaca entons' cumpli. Ri chaipimi shugea huañushcami siricunga, shugea huacacungami iglesia pungupica - nishca. Chaimantaca chaica: - Canca ri cucu tucushpa - nishpa -, shug mangata aujeriyashca nin, shimi, ñahui, rinri, singa, alaja molde tucush cucu shinallata ña. Chaimantaca chai mangapica ima mundo nina churashca nin ucupi, Chai manga ucupica. Chaimantaca chai ñahui ruhuashca, shimi ruhuashca, chaimantaca chispascuna juin t'alliricun nin, chai manga ucupi nina churashca. Chaimantaca chaíta vaca locata shina uma jahuapi

churashpaca, 'Iglesia punguta callpagri' nishcashí,

Chaimantaca chai huacacugoa ñumparashoa rin nin. Chai huanushoa tucushoa huashata. Cutin chai diablo tucushoaca ashtan huashata. Chai ñumparagea: - Almami ñucata c'atish shamun - nishpa ashtan callpashoa nin.
Cutin chai huanushoa tucushoaca cutin: - Diablomi ñucata apangapa shamun - nishpa quimsa tucush callpasheacuna nin.
Chaimantaca mai shug ima mundo lajata lajapi chai huaiou maipi ña. Singurishoacuna tucui quimsa.

Chaimantaca ña shug punzhaca tupanacuna nin shug amigo nina nin:
- Amigo, yangamanta amigo cangui, ñucata mana visitangapa shamucangui - nincuna nin shug amigo -, imata tucushcanguiari? - nin.
- Ñuca shina shinami pasashoani.
- Ñucapish ungushoami carcani - nin shugpish.
Shugpish: - Ñucapish ungushcallatami carcani - nin.
Chaipica ña tapunacuracuna nin. Entonces: - Jacu shug traguitota wuiashun - nircacuna nin ña -, parlangapa.
Chaimantaca ña shugoa nina nin: - Ñuca pasashoataca huillasha. Ñuca shug beatapa enamoradomi tucurcani - nin ña, declarana nin shugoa.
- Parlai, parlai - nin ña shugcunaca,
- Shina shinami ñuca shug beatapa enamorado carcani, chaimantaca paihuan sueñungapaca penitenciata curca. Entonces iglesia pungupi huanushoa tucush siricungui, chaipi ri siricugri nin, chaipi shug chayashpaca juin huacacurca - nin.

Chaimantaca shug amigoca nin: - Chaica ñucami carcani. Ñucami huacacug, chaica ñucami carcani - nin -, chaimantaca chai huacacugpica cutin diabloca shamurca, chaimi de puro miedo mai c'acapi singugrircanchi. Chaimi ña ungushoa cashpa mana tupanacushcanchi - nin.
Chaipica cai shug amigo, chai diablo tucug amigoca nina nin: - Ah, entonces chaica ñucami carcani, ñucami diablo tucushpaca cancinata c'atish callparcani - nin.
Chaipi ña tucui chaicunata ña declararincuna. Shug jatun wuiapi ña taririncuna nin. Entonces canmi diablo cashoangui, shugoa, alma cashoangui, shugoa, huacacug cashoangui, nishpa ña declararishoacuna nin.

Chaimantaca ña, cunanca imatami ruhuanchi chai beatata obrangapa? - nincuna ña, parlanacuncuna ña. Chaimanta nin, shug amigoca ninshi:
- Caitaca mana saquishunchu. Entonces paica doce horastami iglesiapica rezangapa rin - nin.
Chaipica shugoa shug jatun largo largo cabopi cinturapi alli huatarishpa iglesia jahuamantaca chai beata rezacug rato chai ñumpapita ña urman nin. Shugoa cutin asha asha canman chai cabotaca. Entonces cacharin nin jahuamantaca. Paica ña Apostol San Pedro tucushpa ña, ña llavecuna apashoa ña, chai shug santo disfrazado tucushpa ña.
Chaimantaca nin nin: - Beatita canca ñucanchimantaca juinmi yuyaringui, entonces ñucanchica cielomanmi apash ninchi cantaca - nin chai San Pedro tucushpaca ña. Chaimantaca; - Imapapish taita curitaman confesari - nishpa ña.
Chai rato cutin ña shugcunaca iglesia jahuamantaca ña cutin aisancuna nin.

Chaimantaca ña beataca ña creishoa chaitaca. Chaimantaca nishoa nin shug amigotaca: - Canca taita curita tucugri, taita curita tucugri, ña confesionariopi tiyacugri - nishoa nin.

Cai shugca ña taita curita ña tiyacushea nin confesionariopi, Chaipica ña beatata rishca nin, taita curami nishpa ña ciertotami taita cura nishpa. Rishca nin confesaringapa. Chaimantaca nishca nin beatata; - Taita curita - shinami nin -, San Pedritomi cielomanta ñuca oracug rato chayan. Shinami nin: 'Canca juin ñucanchimanta yuyaringui, chaimanta cieloman apash ninchimi', hin. Chaimantaca taita curita nish : - Ari, can paicunamanta rezangui, paicunamanta mañaringui allimi allimi. Canca tucui tiyashca, tucui riqueza, tucui tucui ima charishcata pobreacunaman regalai, pobreacunaman reparti. Chaimantaca shinacito ña tucui trastis, tucui cambia cai rato churacushca, tucui tucuita. Shina lluchito shug cuartitopi ña listito cangui, ñucanchica ña entre las once de la nochetami chayashun cambia huasipi apangapa - nishca nin -, pero mana ima ni shug ropahuan canguichu canca. Lluchito cangui - nishca nin.

Chai beatata ari nishpaca rishca nin. Chaimantaca chai trasticuna ima churana tucui pobreacunaman partishca nin, regalashca. Paica lluchito cashea ña. Chaimanta chai amigocuna chayashpaca beatataca chaipi cobrashca nin ña. Chayashpaca alli logrash rishca nin. Alli lluchito caggica, alli logrash, alli munai munai munai logrash rishca nin. Ni mana cieloman apan, ni mana taita Dioscuna cashea. Solo chai amigo, pero beatapa inquitashca. Chaimantami pecardiasmi chaíta ruhuashcacuna. Shinami chai ejemplo chai beata inquitadora cunan tiempo shina maijan shina inquitán, mana shina ruhuagpi mana cazuncuna. Chaimi chai ejemplo ñuca parlani a nombre ñuca Manuel Chicaísa.

The devout woman and her lovers

This story is about the three suitors of a pious woman. They were very friendly with each other but they never told each other that each was courting the pious woman. Then one night they each made an arrangement to meet her. The pious woman told one of them: "If you want to sleep with me, come at 11 o'clock."

So along he went at 11 o'clock. Then the woman told him: "In order to sleep with me you must do a penance, so go and lie down at the door of the church as if you were dead, covering yourself with a sheet."

Agreeing, the suitor went and did so.

Then the next one arrived at the pious woman's house. She said just the same to him: "I'll go and do a penance," he said.

"There'll be a dead man lying at the door of the church. You go along there and weep. Make a loud noise of weeping."

He too followed her orders so that he would be able to sleep with her. He went weeping and wailing a lot.

Then straightaway the other suitor came along. To him she said: "Do this in order to go to bed with me. Go along to where there's a dead man lying and another weeping over him at the church door. You go along and pretend you're the devil."

He took a saucepan and made holes in it for the mouth, eyes, ears and nose, just like a fine devil's face. He put burning embers in the pot and the sparks flew out of the holes made for the eyes and mouth. Then the suitor put the pot on his head like a *vaca loca*. The woman told him: "Go and run around the church door."

Well, the man who was wailing went ahead, after the man who was playing dead. Then last of all went the man pretending to be the devil. The man who went first said: "There's a soul following me," and he ran fast away. Then the man playing dead cried: "The devil is coming to take me away," and so saying all three of them took to their heels. Then they all three ran fast and tumbled together down a steep cliff.

Afterwards they met up one day, and one friend said: "Friend, you're a good-for-nothing friend, you haven't been to visit me lately. What happened to you?"

"I've been ill," replied the other.

The other said: "I too have been ill."

Thereupon they all asked after each other. Then they went to have a drink and a chat. Then one of them began his tale: "I fell in love with a pious woman," he declared.

"Tell us, tell us," said the others.

"Well, I was in love with her, and she gave me a penance to do so I could go to bed with her. She told me to lie down and feign dead at the church door, then something came along weeping and wailing."

Then one of the other friends said: "That was me. I was the wailer. Then while I was weeping a devil came along, and out of pure fear I rolled off the edge of the cliff. Then as I've been ill we haven't seen each other lately."

Then the other friend who had played the devil said: "Well that was me, I was pretending to be a devil and came chasing after you two."

Then they all confessed the truth to each other. There they all were having a drinking session, and it all came out: "So you were the devil," said one. "And you were the soul," said the other. "And you were the wailing man," said the other, each realising the truth.

Then they wondered what they could do to get their revenge on the pious woman. One of them said: "We can't let her get away with it. She goes to the church to pray at 12 o'clock."

So one of them tied a rope tightly round his waist, and when the pious woman was saying her prayers, he let himself down from the ceiling in front of her. One of the others let him down slowly. He pretended to be Saint Peter, carrying a bunch of keys, and disguised as a Saint. Then he said: "Good woman, you pray to us a lot, so we want to take you to heaven," he said, pretending to be Saint Peter. "So now go and make your confession to the priest."

At that moment, the others up in the rafters of the church pulled him back up.

Now the pious woman was taken in by this. So one of the suitors told another: "You go and pretend to be the priest in the confessional." So the other disguised himself as the priest and entered the confessional. Then the devout woman went to make her confession to him: "Father, Saint Peter came down from heaven while I was praying, and said: "As you pray a lot to us, we want to take you to heaven." The priest said: "Yes, you pray for them, you ask blessings of them. Good, good. Now you must give all your belongings and all your riches away to the poor. Then take off all your clothes that you're wearing now and be ready in your little room at 11 o'clock. We'll come to take you away. But you mustn't be wearing any clothes. Be naked," he advised her.

So the devout woman followed his advice. She gave away all her clothes and stood there quite naked. Then the three suitors arrived. Then they took their revenge on her. They took advantage of her nudity and had their revenge on her. They didn't take her to heaven, and there was no saint. Just the suitors who came to molest her. Nowadays there are some pious women like her and people bother them. That's my story in my name.

Informant: PD, 4th August, 1976

K1218.4 Suitors as corpse, angel and devil
K1315 Seduction by imposter
K1315.1.1 Seduction by posing as Angel Gabriel
K1315.6.4 Seduction by posing as Saint

Commentary

1.0 Introduction

• These are the only tales in the collection in which humans interact with humans; they comprise humorous folktales of a social and religious satirical nature. Many are no doubt borrowings, and can be traced to variants through the Aarne-Thompson indices. They were treated more light-heartedly and told more readily than the material in Section A in particular. Paredes Candia in his discussion of similar material for Bolivia has considered this genre of tale to be the property of the urban *mestizo* classes, making its appearance in the repertoire of the indians as a relatively recent result of culture contact (1973:18-19). Certainly, although the versions presented here were told by Quichua speakers, I heard variations perhaps more frequently on the lips of *mestizos*; such bawdy narratives were usually referred to as '*cachos*', Paredes Candia suggests that sacrilegious anecdotes involving religious motifs are the comic, urban, counterpart of the tales of souls and devils told with serious intent among the indians. The contrast is therefore between both attitude in telling the tales, and between cultural origins for the tales in question:

"es tanto el afán de concretar picardía o humor picante en los relatos, que hasta los temas religiosos de apariciones, donde están santos y milagros como elementos constitutivos del cuento, que el campesino acepta, cree y relata con respetuosa actitud, al ciudadano le sirven de argumentos para crear literatura oral de tipo pornográfico."
(loc.cit.)

Perhaps the best illustration of this state of affairs in the Cañar material is to be found in Tale 60, in which the piety of the '*beata*' is ridiculed, and motifs such as devils, souls of the dead, and coffins, which in the Section A legends were objects of respect and even fear, are employed to satirical effect.

2.0 Group (i): Bawdy priest tales

These bawdy sacrilegious tales no doubt strike an uncomfortably realistic note with regard to the traditional character of the priest in his relationship with the lower classes, in days gone by at least, and their survival to this day might be explained in terms of the underlying social comment they contain, in addition to their entertainment value.

The A-T types to which they can be compared are listed, as usual, with the individual texts. However, there are one or two other observations to make in order to place them further within the Spanish-American context. The episode in Tale 57, for example, in which the priest's face is painted without his knowledge, is commonly found in the 'Pedro de Ordinales' cycle, of wide distribution in Spanish-America. Miller's *"Pedro Ordinales y Juan de Buen Alma"* (op.cit.No.82) also contains the episode. For further variants in South America, see: Aramburu (1944) for Argentina, and Laval (1925) and Pino Saavedra (1966 nos.186&193) for Chile.

With regard to Tale 58, it was seen that this tale is found elsewhere in the Andes as an integral part of the Bear's Son tale, being included in the sequence of events when the hero finds himself in the care of a priest who tries to instill fear in him. An additional feature lies in the use of the priest's play on words to trick the boy - obscure as this may be, the point of the incident apparently lies in the fact that the boy is tricked through an inadequate knowledge of Spanish, and learned expressions in particular. A comparative portrayal of the priest as a libertine is to be found in JC/IM/19: *"Shuj taita cura shuj huainahuan"*. There are no additional comments to make about Tales 55, 56, 59 and 60.

Section D sub-section (b): Other humorous tales

TextsTale 61: Gallo tucushca runa

Shug runa tiyana nin casado, Tutamanta jatarishpa cada punzha trabajoman utca rig cashca nin, Ña más o menos buatro de la mañana llugshig cashca trabajoman. Huarmica jaicapi mana jatarishpa cafeta ruhuag cashca, sino paillata cafetaruhuashpa uviashpa trabajoman llugshig cashca. Cada punzha, ni shug punzha huasipi samarig cashca,

Chaipei chai huarmitaca shug runa rirca pacalla inquitangapa. Chai huarmi chasquishca cusa trabajopi cagpi, Entonces shug runaca cusa trabajopi carca yachashpa cada punzha chai huarmipaman rig cashca. Chaipei tucui punzha parlashpa imacunata ruhuashpa micushpa chaipei pasag cashcacuna, Chashna pasacushpa chishitaca huasiman rig cashca ña cusa shamuna horas.

Shug punzha cusa ña yalli chishiyamug yuyachigpi tal vez que mana shamungachu pensarishca paica. Mana shamungachu caillapi sueñusha nishca. Cusaca unai tutata chayamin. Ña chai runaca chai huarmi huan sueñucurca, Chai sueñucushpaca cusa shamugta sentishpa huarmica nirca: - Ri chai manga jatun tinaja ucupi tiyagri. Ñuca tapash churasha. Entonces yaicaurca chai jatun tinaja ucupi. Pero huarmica nirca: - Cantaca chiringami cai tinaja ucupica. Cusa utca llugshig richun canca gallo tucushpa cantangui.

Chaimanta paica arita nishpa cantai callarirca ña unai tuta tucugpi, ña cusahuan chai huarmi sueñucugpi. Paica manga ucumanta gallo tucushpa cantai callarirca gallo shina. Chai cantacugpi ña huarmica nirca: - Ña gallo cantan. Utea jatari. Ñami punshayanga, ri trabajo-

man. Pero cusa todavía sueñohuan carca. Mana jatarisha nirca utca, Astahuan galloca c'atishpa cantarca, Entonces huarmica nunca mana jatarinata yachag, mana imata ruhuanata yachag, chai tutamantaca jatarishpa pai quiquin cafeta ruhuashpa uviachirca. Chaipei entonces chaita uviashpa rirca llugshishpa cusaca ña trabajoman.

Trabajoman ricushpa yuyarirca paica ña uyarca mana gallo laya cantarca, Mana gallo laya cantarca uyashpaca ashata yuyaita japirca nin: pues caica mana gallochu. Entonces nirca: - Ñucata ashata imacha huigsa nanan yalli tutapish rigrini. Tal vez que trabajopi yalli jumbishpa calormantami huigsa nanag yuyachin. Rini ashata armangapa yacuta tibiashpa.

Cutimushpa pai quiquin jatun baldepi yacuta tibiai callarirca. Mana tibiachi tibiairca sino que timbuchirca yacuta. Jatun balde yacuta timbuchishpa ña armaringapa japigrirca shug bateata. Chai bateaca tinaja tapashea carca. Entonces yacuta chai shina baldepi aisashpa rishpa tinaja cuchuman apagrirca bateata japirca anchuchirca. Yacuta tinajapi churarca. Chaipei gallota pelarca!

The man who played cockerel

There was once a married man. He was in the habit of getting up early every morning to go to work. At about four in the morning he was already going out to work. His wife would never get out of bed to make the coffee, but he himself would make his coffee, drink it and go out to work. Every day, not one day would he rest at home.

Now there was a man who used to go in secret to pester the woman. The woman would let him in, as her husband was at work. So as that man knew that the husband was at work, he would go to the woman's house every day. And there they would spend the whole day talking, eating and doing other things. They would spend the day like that and in the evening when it was time for the husband to come home, the man would go to his own house.

One day, as it looked as if the husband was going to come home very late, the man thought that perhaps he wouldn't come at all: "He won't come, I'll sleep right here," he said.

But the husband arrived back very late at night, and the man was sleeping with his wife. As they lay sleeping, the woman heard her husband arrive and said to the man: "Go and get into that big urn, I'll put the lid on it."

So the man climbed into the big urn. But the woman said: "You'll catch cold in that big jar. To make my husband go out early, crow like a cockerel."

The man agreed, and in the middle of the night he began to crow. The woman was now asleep with her husband. From inside the pot he began to crow like a cock. When he crowed the woman said: "The cock is crowing, get up early, husband, it will soon be day, go to work." But her husband was still sleepy. He didn't want to get up early. The cock still continued to crow. So the woman, who never used to get up, who never used to do anything, got up that morning and made the coffee herself for her husband to drink. So then, having drunk the coffee, the husband went out of the house to go to work.

While he was on his way to work he reflected to himself that the cockcrow hadn't sounded like a real bird at all. When he realised the truth he decided on a plan: he would pretend that the heat of the day had given him a stomach ache and would go home to heat water for a wash. So returning home he himself began to warm some water in a big bucket. He didn't just warm it, however, but he boiled it. When he had heated up the big bucket of water, he went to get a large wooden bowl in which to wash. The bowl was covering the tall jar. And so he carried the water in the bucket over near to the jar, took the bowl from the top of it, and then he poured the boiling water into the urn. That soon skinned the cockerel!

Informant: GGG, 20th May, 1976

- K1550 Husband outwits adulteress and paramour
- K1886,3,1 Person simulates cockcrow
- K1550,1 Husband discovers wife's adultery
- K1553,1 Husband feigns illness to surprise wife with paramour

Tale 62: *Burro randidorca*

Shug purtujiscuna causashca nin ñumpa tiempoca. Shug purtujisca nishca nin: - Ñuca rinimi shug burrota randingapa. Mana charini imapi apachish purinata. Shug burrota randigrini cunanca rinimi shug negocio ruhuangapa. Entonces sin cargadorca mana pudinichu. Ñuca aparish purinata, mana apari pudinichu, ishcai cargataca. Entonces ña viajero tucushca paipish, negociante tucushca, Randishca pichca burrota. Entonces chahuanca rig cashea yunga ladoman!

Primer punzhataca ricushcami burroconapi cargashca cai huiracargahuan. Chai huiracargataca cargag ricugpica rupai semejante yungataca, como ima mundo calor. Huiracuna muyushpaca talliri callarishca tarucunamantaca. Imatami ruhan entonces paica callparin yacuta tallin. Chaipica claro cai huiraca sinchiyashca mana talliri pudin. Entonces solo chashna ruhuashpa tucui ñanta yacuta churarash rishca, shinashpa mana desperdiciota ruhan huirataca.

Bueno cutin shug viajeca rishca nin cachi cargahuan. Chai cachi cargahuan rishpaca entonces chaipi lo mismo, tamiapishca. Cargacunaca vamos yacu juin churiai callarishca. Paica entonces pensashcari huirata shina parachishami nishpa muyush urmanata. Imatami ruhan paica cutin cachi cargapi, cachi cargataca sinchiyachinata munashpa, paica maipimi yacu tupan talli shitash. Ashun cachi cargaca tucui muyushpa rin nin, ashun ricucugpi carga menosyash tamiapica. Yacuta tallin! Yacuta tallin, chahuancari fuera cachi carga! Chashna ña chayan, shug ashallahuan chayashca yungapica. Chaipi negociota ruhan, perdimun pero ña. Cai mundo desperdiciota ruhuashpaca. Cutin chaimanta nishca cai negocioca mana valinchi ni imapa, shitash jichugrinimi. Cunan rinimi burroconata c'atush shitangapa. C'atush shitashca nin burroconataca.

Cutin shug punzha risha nishca nin yantaman. ¿Imapita rigrini? Cutin rigrinimi shug burrota randingapa. Cutin burrota rindishca nin. Chaimanta nishca nin más valin yantaman ricuna shinaca ashun rigrinimi negociollamanta. Ña rin nin negociohan cutin huiracargahuan. Tamiapishca. Huiraca mana ima tucushca tamiapica sinchiyashca, sumagta chayashea, Chai viajepica cutin ganashea.

Shina cutin cutimucushca burroconahuan, pichca burrollatata randishca; Chai pichca burromantaca, shug montashpa shamucushca. Cai shugconata arriashpa chaimantaca ñampica yuyarishca nin: - Ai, burroconaca shugca illan, shinami yupash ricusha - nishca nin. Yupashca nin pichca burro carga, maita shug illarmi, chuscullami cashea. Shug claro que pai montash ricugpica ima shinata cangari! Chaimanta cutin uraicushpa yupai callarin nin. Picheallata cashea nin. Cutin burropi montan ña arriamun nin. Cutin ña yuyarin nin ashtan purimucushpaca ima shina cuentota burroca maipicha jichurishca shinami shugca nishca nin. Cutin yupan nin. Pichea burro carga, maipi shugca faltan? Cutin cutish callpan burromanta uraicushpa cutin masheangapa, maipimi jichurirca? nishpa. Juin callparashca rin nin, cosa que shug rayo cuenta burrota mashcash. Maita ima tariringa. Cutin cutimushca nin cai shug burrocon maipi ima tucushcami canga ricungapa. Cai shug burrocon chaipi chayan nin, picheallata cashea nin. Cutin burropi montan nin. Cutin arriash ñumpachimun nin. Solo chashna tucui ñanta shamun nin burrota chingachishpalla. Uraicushpaca ajustan nin montashca yupashpaca faltachin nin. Chashna shamun. Chaimanta huasipi chayamushpaca nishca nin, chashnami burroconaca chingarish atin. Mana valinchi chai negocioca, ashurmi sustopi churan. Cosa que agitashpami shamuni, solo callpashpalla burrota mashcash. Entonces cunanca rinimi tucui burrota c'atush shitangapa.

Entonces caipimi shug cullquita huanag burrotaca c'atucun. Shug c'atucunmi ña huillarcami, rinimi chaíta randingapa. Ashun chaími suerteta cunga. Ari nishpa randi ña huarmica ninmi nin shina cagpica c'atuiyari, shinashpa cahita randingui. Cullquita huachacugpica allillatari casheari. Chaimanta burrotaca randina nin. Chai c'atudorca mañoso cashea. C'atushca nin, burromanca alja qu'ihuata aheata caran y siquimanta cullquita satig cashea. Cullquita siquimanta satin entonces burro huanana ratoca cullquitara urmachin, qu'ipata huanitota

urmachin, Huarmi chaita ricush pacarin: - Caramba, cunancari chayug-yagrinimi, Cunanca burro cullquita huañanata yachashoa. Chaipi nishca nin: - Achea qu'ihuata carangui, alja qu'ihualata. Chaipica cullquitami huañan, chaica riqui - nishpa ricushishoa nin. Cullquica huanupica pallanalla cashca nin aspishpaca. Chaipicari pai purtujisea randinata ruhuan nin burrotaca, cushillito ña randin. Entonces ña c'atucushpaca paica cullquitaca ña mana pai ricucupica cullquitaca burropa siquimanta satishoa, - Qu'ihuata aacheata carai, Solo alja qu'ihuata micushpami ña cullquitaca chashna huañan. Bueno cushilla ña rin. Ña cullquita cun, burrota randin.

Chaimanta paipa huasipica shinapish chayashca ratoca ña cullquita huañan nin. Chaipicari paimanca ima mundo contento gloria: - Cunancari burro cullquita huañacunmi - nishpa. Cullquita siquimanta satishoa tucuringacamalla huañacushoa cullquitaca. Chaimanta qu'ipamanca maita ima! Cutin tapug rishea nin burro c'atudor-manca. - Mana huañanchu cullquitaca. Burro c'atudorca nish llugshishoa ninyari pillucunahuan. - Ri nigri burrotaca cunanca 'ima raicuta mana cullquita huañangui? Ñucaca alja qu'ihuata caracunimi. Huañai, huañai, huañai' - nishca nin -, 'huañai plata, huañai plata, huañai plata' shina ningui. Chaipica huañangallami. Ari nishca nin, rishea nin shina ningapa, Burropa ñumpapi shina nishpa tiyacuna nin, Solo huanuta huañana nin, maita cullquica. Chaimantaca rabia japishca burrotaca cutin aisarish plazapi c'atush shitashca nin,

Chaipi c'atush shitashca qu'ipa cutin chaipi shug manga aisash puricushca nin, mangata randi nishpa. Chaipica nishca nin: - Mangacunatacari tucui tiempollata randishpa ñuca huasipica aachea mangata charini. - Mana pero caica cutin acaso concunapa manga shinachari: chaica necesitanmi ninata japichina, necesitan yanta, necesitan ugsha, tamu necesitan carbon, chaicunahuanmi yanurin. Caica mana. Caitaca, cai manguitataca allpata jutcuna chaipi tullpana. Tullpaggica, 'yanuri manguita sin nina, yanuri manguita sin nina, yanuri manguita sin nina' nicuppi ña timbui callarin nin. Shina sin nina can mana necesitanguichu ima yanta tamucuna, ni carbon tamucuna, ni japichicuna, ni p'ucush urai singa siricuna, ni cushnita tacacuna, ni ima. Entonces yanui ricungapa nishca nin micugringapa. - Cunan ña rinimi imallata randimungapa. Ratopi mercadoman callpan randimuna nin. Paica mañoso cashca nin. Allpata jutcunata yachashca nin. Allpata jutcushpaca chaipi ña ninata japichi churan yantahuan. Yanta 'colon' nicupica mangataca chaipi tullpan, chaimantaca pacalla yanun. Chaica riqui allpa ucupi pambashcami tiyacun mangaca. Chai ñallami timbunga.

Cai shugca shamun. - Shamui ricungui. Riqui ima shinami yanurin. 'Timbui manguita sin nina, timbui manguita sin nina, timbui manguita sin nina' - nish tiyacuna nin ladopica. Cai shugca tiyacun ricushpa. Shinaggica ashun mangaca ña tucui timbushpa tapandi alzarish rigrin nin. - Ya ves - ninmi nin -, chashnami ruhuarin. Mana necesitarinchu ni carbon ni yanta. Shina ruhuanallami. Chaipicari entonces chaita ricushpaca paica dedicarin randinata chai mangata. Mangata randigrin; paipish rin allpata jutcu chaipi imallacunata churan. Yanui callarin. Mangaca ima maipi nina tiyagpitami timbunga! Tiyacun nin chaipi. De rabia japishpaca mangata alli rumipi huagtanacushpa ura huaicuta shitash cachana nin.

The dimwit's adventures

Once a long time ago there lived a dimwit. One day he decided to buy an ass so that he could set up a business. "Without a donkey I have no way of carrying two loads at once," he said to himself. So he bought five donkeys and became a travelling salesman. With his donkeys he set off for the hot lowlands.

Now on the first trip he was carrying a cargo of lard on the asses. As he was going along with this cargo the weather became terribly hot; the lard began to melt in the heat and to leak out of its containers. So very quickly the dimwit began pouring water onto the lard, which hardened it up and stopped it from seeping out. All the way along the road the dimwit kept putting water on the lard and only in that way did he stop it from going to waste.

Well, on another occasion he went on a journey with a cargo of salt. As he was going along with the salt, he got caught in a rainstorm. And the rain began to drip into the cargo. So the dimwit thought he would stop the salt melting onto the ground in the same way as he had dealt with the lard! Hoping to harden up the salt, he began pouring water onto it! The wetter the load of salt became in the rain, the more it began to drip onto the ground, and as the dimwit went further, so his cargo gradually diminished. His salt just dwindled away because he poured water onto it! And so he arrived in the hot lowlands, with just a tiny bit of salt. And there he did his business, but of course he made a loss. He had put a whole load of salt to waste. So after that, he decided the business was no good; he would throw it in and sell the asses. And so he sold them.

Then again, one day he wanted to go and collect some firewood. "But what shall I go on?" he thought. And he decided to buy another ass. "It's much better to go for firewood like this," he thought. Then he decided better still to go back into trading. So he set off again with a cargo of lard. This time he was caught in the rain. In the rain no ill came of the load, it solidified and arrived in good condition. So on that trip he made a profit again.

He had bought himself five asses, and now he set off home with them. He mounted one of them and the rest he drove along in front. As he was on the road, he thought to himself; "One of the asses seems to be missing, I'd better count them." He counted and found that whereas there had been five donkeys, now there were only four. But of course, he was riding on one of them, so how could that be! Dismounting, he began to count again. There were just five! So he remounted and urged the donkeys on again. When he had come further along the way, he had the same thought again: "Where on earth has one of the donkeys got to?" he wondered. Again he counted them and only found four. Where was the missing one? Again he hurriedly dismounted to go and look for the ass, wherever it had got to. He ran to and fro like a madman, looking for the donkey. But he couldn't find it anywhere. And so he returned to the place where the other donkeys were, to look there. He mounted one of them, and again he could only see four animals. So he set off again, driving them before him. And so he spent the whole journey, thinking he had lost one of his asses. When he got off his mount, he found the right number, but as soon as he remounted, he found one missing!

And so it was, all the way. After that he arrived home, one of the asses having got 'lost'. "This business isn't worth it," he said, "it's too much of a headache. I'm quite exhausted from having spent the whole journey just running round looking for the donkey. So I'm going to sell them off again."

Now, thereabouts, there was a man selling a donkey that defecated gold. When the dimwit was told about this dealer, he decided to go and buy the beast, thinking that it would bring him luck. And his wife agreed that if it were true, he should certainly buy it. For the donkey was giving a lot of money. Now the man that was selling the donkey was a trickster. He had put the money in the animal's backside, given it a lot of alfalfa to eat, and sold it. So when the ass came to defecate, first the gold would come out, but afterwards it would be just dung! In the morning the wife saw this and cried: "Goodness, now I'm really going to get rich! The ass can drop gold!" And her husband instructed her to give it only alfalfa grass and then it would drop gold. And the gold had to be collected from the dung by scraping it out. And now the dimwit was very happy with having bought the donkey.

But how did the donkey come to have the gold? "Give the beast plenty of alfalfa," the trader had said. But the seller had put the gold in the donkey's backside when the dimwit wasn't looking, and then he had sold it to him. The donkey ate large quantities of alfalfa, nothing else, then it dropped gold. And so it went on until the gold that had been put in its backside was finished. After that, nothing! So the dunce went back to the donkey dealer and told him the animal had stopped shitting gold. Well of course, the dealer had played a trick on him. So he told the dimwit: "Go and ask the donkey: 'Why don't you shit gold?' and say to it: 'Shit gold, shit gold, shit gold'. Then it will perform." So the dimwit went away to try these words on the ass. He sat for hours by its side repeating them, but it only passed dung, not gold at all. So the dimwit took the donkey, dragged it furiously back to the market place and resold it.

After he had sold the ass, there was a man toting a cooking pot nearby. "Buy my pot," he said to the dimwit. Whereupon the latter replied: "I'm always buying cooking pots, that's something we've really plenty of at home." "Ah," said the dealer, "but I doubt your pots are like this one. You have to light a fire for yours; they need firewood, grass, straw, coal. They cook with those things. With this pot you make a hollow in the ground and place it there. Then you say the words: 'Cook without fire, little pot. Cook without fire, little pot. Cook without fire, little pot', and then it begins to boil! So in that way you don't need firewood, straw, coal or matches; you don't have to lie face down and blow to get the fire going; you don't have to wave the smoke away from your eyes, or anything."

Later on, the dimwit was going to prepare something to eat, so he hurried to the market to do a little shopping. And the crafty salesman was there. His trick was to make a hole in the ground and light a fire with wood inside the hole. Once the wood was crackling, he placed the pot on top of it. In that way the pot cooked secretly. So there stood the pot, in the hole that had been dug in the ground;

and any minute now it would come to the boil. Then the dimwit came along, "Come and see how the pot cooks by itself," called the trickster; "Boil without fire, little pot," he recited three times at the pot's side.

And the dimwit stood by watching. And so the pot began to boil faster, its lid about to come off as it bubbled harder. "Now, you see," said the salesman, "that's what it does. It doesn't need coal or firewood. It just does it by itself."

When the dimwit saw this with his own eyes, he resolved to buy the cooking pot. Having bought it, he took it away, and he too dug a hole in the ground, and put a few things in the pot. Then he began to cook. But as if the pot was going to cook without a fire! It just sat there! So the dimwit grabbed it in a rage, bashed it hard against a stone and threw it away into a ravine.

Informant: JMD, 15th September, 1976

J2031.2 There are ten horses; then when he is mounted there are only nine. Why?

J2030 Absurd inability to count

K111.1 Alleged gold-dropping animal sold

K112.1 Alleged self-cooking kettle sold

J1813.4 Boiling pot on the floor thought to be self-cooking

Tale 63: *Sonsohuan huaquicunahuan*

Shug sonsitoshi tiyana nin. Huaquicuna rishoa caranin, chayugcunashi cana. Shug tutaca nina nin: - Jacu curita masheashun, curita allashun. Tal puestopi ricurcanchi rupagchina. Jacu rishun. Sonso yangallatami siricun. Shinaca: - Invitarishun allanacuchun, paipish trabajachun. Mana imata cushunchu paimanca. Chayancuna huasipi, nin: - Oi, sonso, cunanca jacu curita allashun. Cunanca rigrinchi allangapa. Canmampish cushurmi. Nigpica nin: - Mana, huaquica. Nua mana rinichu - nishca nin -, si Dios cusha nishpaca pungupimi cunga. Si Dios mana cusha nishpaca mana cungachu imata. Pungutami yaicunga Dios cusha nishpaca.

Pasarincuna: allancuna, allancuna, allancuna. Shug mangata tarincuna, shug corriente mangata, barro manga. Barro mangapica timbushpa jicharicuna nin paicunapa ricuipica escusado ruhuashca mapashi cana. Pero curi cana nin, mana mapaca. Curi sisashpa juin timbushpa jicharicuna nin mangahuan. - Riqui caichu tucunchi, caichu pasanchi. Sonsopa pungupi saquirishun. Sonso tutamanta jatarigpica mangamanta curica jicharicuna nin tallirishpa, Sonsitoca curi mangata japin huacaichin. Bueno, capricharincuna nin. Mana yacharcacuna sichu imami carca. Paipa ñahuipica mana ricurircachun mangapi curi cana cashca nin.

Chaimantaca sonsito charishca nin shug vacata. Nincuna: - Sonsomantaca vacata quichushpa micushun. Aichanayanmi - nishpa -, ñucanchi mana huira tiyanchu - nishpa -, huira vacami tiyan paipata huañuchishun. Rincuna huasiman cai shug chai shug nincuna: - Oi, sonso, camba vacata cui micungapa. Ñucanchita aichanayanmi. - Bueno, ¿ima ruhuashun? Ña micusha ninguichi, ña micuichi. Pero carata ñucaman cunguichi. C'atungapa caritata. Siquiera cullquita ruhuangapa.

Vacata huañuchishpaca carata sonsitoman regalancuna paipallatata,

Sonsoca carata aparín nin puebloman. Pueblopi talavartero tiyana nin, trabajador chaipi. Chaipi e'aturish rina nin. Talavartero rishca nin campoman puringapa randingapa imapacha. Ucupi huarmi cashca nin taita curitahuan. Pugllacurcachari o tiyacurcachari, imatachari ruhuacurca. Pungu 'tan tan' nin. ¿Imata pasan? Curaca cajonpi yaicun. Cajonpi yaicushpaca mana llugshi valin. Curaca chaipi yaicugpica nin huarmica: - Rilla. Ña cutishpa ña shamungallami. Shamunguillami.

Cai shug bribonea mana cutingayari, sino chaipi aguantan. Curaca mana cajonmanta llugshi valin.

Ña chayamun ima rato cashpapish. Chayamushpaca nishca nin: - Ah, caramba! Ima milagro! Ima huaira! ¿Imapata shamurcangui?

- Mana maestrito, ñuca mana ima shamunichu. Cai caritata e'atug shamurcani. Cai carata e'atushpa e'atungapa shamurcani. Shinaca randi.

- ¿Mashnata valin?

- Mana ima ninichu maestrito. Ñucapish carata cuni, campish cai cajonta ñucaman cui. Chaihuan cambiashun.

Muerto de gusto cai shugca cajonta cun. Huascata japin, alli lian aparina nin.

Aparishpaca shug loma patapi nina nin: - Tontera ñucaca aparish ricuni cai cajón payata. Caimanta singuchishpa cachashun. Imapish tucugrichun huasipipish manallata imata churana charinichu.

Cajón curaca nin: - Ama huañuchichu. Oi, fulano, ñucami caipi cani, Conventoman apash cui. Ñuca pungu ucu causai punguca pascashcami yaicuilla. Ama novedad ruhuash ni e'ayangui ni ima. Ucupi pascagpi lluchigpi pagashpa cachashallami cambia aparishcamanta, ñuca vida salvashcamanta. Ama escadata ruhuarichu, ama huañuchichu ñucataca, Conventoman rin, chayan pascan. Corriente cullquita pagan, rin.

Huasipi huauquicunaman nin: - Ya ves, cancunaca ashun mana alli ruhuana shinaca allitami ñucaman ruhuashcanguichi. Vacata huañuchinguichi. Caraca tantomi cashca caipimi e'atumuni. Chaica riqui entera cullquitami ruhuamuni, chaipi e'atumuni.

Mana carata e'atushca, cura pagash cachashca! Capricharincuna, Ultimipica nin: - Sonsota huañuchishun saquiringapa tucui paipa charishcahuan. Tal punsha huañuchishun. Cajonpi churash aparín.

Esquinapi llugshishpa uviai callarincuna. Uviai callarishpaca, ima shuti, uviacugpi shug sonsito pasacuna nin shug manada oveja ñumpachishca. - Oi, sonso - nishca nin -, shamui caiman. Ñucami caipi cani reypa ushita cazarachun - nishca -, ñuca huauquimi apamush preso charicun. Carimi ashtan sinchi cangui, vivo cangui. Can cazarai, ñucaca ovejata michishpa shamugrisha. Cai shug sonsoca cajonta pascan, chaipi yaicugpi cai shugca llugshin oveja ñumpachin rin. Cai shug shinallata saquirin chaipi, sonsitoca. Ucumanta llugshirincuna, aparincuna pobretaca singuchincuna. C'aca loma patamanta huaicuta shitancuna.

Huasipi chayashpa uyansashpa uviacuncuna nin. Uviacugpi ricurina nin, manada oveja ñumpachishca ricurina. Manada oveja ñumpachishca ricurina nin. - Sonso shinami hombre chaica ovejahuan shamun. Cutin huañuchishami - ricun.

- Mana ima chai cangami - cai shug huauqui atin.

Cai shugca nina nin: - Paimi ricungui, paimi chaíta alairu purimun, tucui.

Ña chayamun huasi uraita chai pasana carcari ñanta, paipa huasimanca,

flauta, Entonces yaicuna nin; - Hombre, huauquicuna, mana alli ruhuamushcanguichu, ñucamanea allitami ruhuamushcanguichi. Cada singurishcatami ñucaca chungu ovejata ganarcani. Chaica riqui ñuca ovejitahuan shamunimi. Dios solo pague, agradeçinimi.

Chai shug animalcunaca nin; - Bueno, cunanca patapish huanuchishun, paimantapish quichushun. Ñucanchi shina cagpica jacu singushpa ganamushun. Ñucanchipish ovejata pailla shina ganangapa. Huauquitaca nin; - Huambrito, maimantami singuchiroanchi canta, chaillapimi singuchish shina ñucanchilla ovejayu tucungapa, Caya cai ruhuash cwi, Cayandica rin ña listo chayancuna, cajonpi yaicuncuna. Patca alli huatan, huaicuta huaicuta shitan. Imatata gananga! Chaipi polvoyana nin! Ovejata mana ganen nin, solo envidiamanta chai pasan tucui huanuna nin. Saquirin cai shugca tucui ultimo charishcahuan. Chaipimi tucurin.

The dimwit and his brothers

There was once a dimwit who had two rich brothers. One night these two said: "Let's go and dig for gold. We saw some shining in that place over there, let's go."

The dimwit was lounging about doing nothing so they said: "Let's ask him to come and dig too. We can get him to work but we won't give him any of the gold."

When they arrived at the house they said: "Hey, dimwit, let's go and dig for gold. Come and dig with us and we'll give you a share too." But when they said that, the dunce replied: "No, brothers, I'll not go. If God wants to give me gold he'll leave it in my doorway. If he doesn't want to give me anything, then he won't. The gold will come in through the door if God wants to give it."

So they set off and dug and dug and dug. They found a good sized earthen pot. As they looked, they saw the pot brimming over with what appeared to them to be animal dung, although in reality it was gold. "Look what has befallen us," they said, "let's go and leave this pot of dung on the dimwit's doorstep."

So when the dimwit got up the next morning he found the pot overflowing with gold. He took it and stored it away. The others were furious. They hadn't known what it really was, for to their eyes it hadn't been gold.

Now the dimwit had a cow, and one day the two brothers decided to take it away from him and slaughter it as it was good and fat. They were very thin and felt like eating some meat. So they went to his house and said: "Hey there, dimwit, give us your cow to eat. We want to eat some meat."

"Very well," replied the other, "eat the cow if you wish, but give me the hide to sell. At least I can make some money out of that." So when they had killed the cow they made the dunce a gift of his own cowhide.

So the dimwit took the cowhide into town to a tanner's shop. When he arrived he found that the tanner was away in the countryside on some errand, and his wife was indoors up to tricks with the priest! When he knocked at the door, the priest climbed into a large chest and had to stay there! The woman told the dimwit that her husband would be back soon, that he should go away and call back later. But he was going to do no such thing, he waited right there. So the priest couldn't come out of the box.

After a while, the tanner came back and greeted the visitor; "Well I never! Long time no see! What brings you here?"

"Nothing much, boss. I've just come to sell you this hide."

"How much do you want for it?"

"I don't want money, boss. I'll exchange the hide for this chest you have here."

Delighted with the deal, the tanner gave him the chest. The dimwit tied it up firmly with twine and carried it away.

As he was carrying it along the brow of a hill, he thought to himself: "I'm stupid to be carrying this old chest along. What will become of it when I get it home? I haven't even got anything to put in it. Let's send it rolling down this hill."

Then the priest inside the box called out: "Hey, what's-your- name, don't kill me. Carry me back to the convent. Take me to my room and just let yourself in without making any noise. When I get there I'll pay you off for having carried me home and saved my life. But don't do anything rash, don't kill me."

So the dimwit carried the priest to the convent, left him in his room, and came away with a good payment.

When he got home, he said to his brothers: "You see, when you thought you were doing me a bad turn, things turned out in my favour. You killed my cow but the hide was so big that I've sold it for a lot of money. See how much money I've made."

But of course it wasn't really the earnings from the hide, but the money the priest had paid him! The two brothers were very angry and at last decided: "Let's kill the dimwit, so we can keep all his money." And they decided to kill him on a certain day. They would put him in a chest and carry him away.

So one day they went to a bar on the corner and started to drink. As they were drinking, the dimwit came past driving a herd of sheep. "Hey, dimwit, come here. My brother has taken me prisoner and is going to make me marry the king's daughter. You are much stronger and much more clever, why don't you marry her and I'll go herding the sheep."

So the dunce got into the chest and the other one got out and went off to herd the sheep. So the dimwit stayed there in the chest. The others came out of the bar and carried the poor lad away to roll him down a hill. They rolled him from the top of a hill down into a ravine.

When they got home they ate and drank in celebration. While they were drinking, the dimwit suddenly reappeared driving a flock of sheep along the road. Said one of the brothers: "The dimwit is coming back with some sheep, let's kill him again."

"It can't be," contradicted the other.

But the other brother said: "It is, it is. Look, he's coming along as clear as day."

And sure enough there he was coming down the path that led to his house, herding the sheep and playing on his flute. As he came to the house he entered saying: "Hello there, brothers. You did me no harm, see. In fact you did me a good turn. Each time I rolled over I won myself ten sheep. Look how I've come back with a whole flock. Thank you very much!"

Seeing this the wicked brothers said; "Now let's kill him again and take the sheep away from him. But first let us go and win some sheep by rolling down the hill. We too want to get sheep just as he did." And they said to the dunce: "Youngster, tomorrow you take us to where we rolled you down the hill and roll us in the same way, so that we too can get some sheep."

So the next day they prepared themselves, and got into a large chest. The dimwit tied them in securely and tumbled them into a deep ravine. But as if they were going to gain anything! They were shattered to pieces! They got no sheep but were killed because of their greed. The other remained behind and inherited all his brothers' goods. And there my story ends.

Informant: MJA, 22nd April, 1976

cf. A-T1535: The rich and the poor peasant; also A-T1725: The foolish parson in the trunk

- N511 Treasure in ground
- N532 Light indicates hidden treasure
- N543.0.1 Only particular persons see hidden treasure in its true form; others see it as coal etc.
- J2093 Valuables given away or sold for a trifle
- K1218.1.4 Importunate lover is forced to hide in chest
- K1555 Husband carries off box containing hidden paramour
- K443.1 Hidden paramour buys freedom from discoverer
- K842 Dupe persuaded to take prisoner's place in a sack; killed. The bag is to be thrown into the sea. The trickster keeps shouting that he does not want to go to heaven or marry the princess; dupe gladly substitutes for him (A-T1535)

Tale 64: Cullqui mashcag chazuca

Gerpi shug runaca causashea, shug chayug runa, Chaimantaca shugoa purishca nin Cuencamanta, shug chazu. Chaimantaca Cuencamanta shug chazu purishca nin. Chai Ger runapica nishca nin: - Oi, compadre, canca imamantata pobrella causangui, juinmi chayug causana - nishca nin -, ñuca chai urcupimi ricuni shug curi rupagta - nishca nin. Chaipica: - Buenoiari, compadrito, ñucaman llugchishpa c'atush saquiri - nishca nin chai chazutaca.

Chazuca nishca nin: - Bueno, compadre, ñucaca llugchishpa c'atush saquirisha. Ñucaca ricurcani, tucumantami ricurcani rupagta. Ñucaca señalashpami saquirircani maipimi ruparaca - nishca nin.

Chai Ger llagta runaca nishca nin: - Compadre.

Ulala shuti cashea nin. Chaimanta Gerpica nish cun chazu chaygpica alli carashcacuna nin, alli uviachishcacuna nin curita llugchishpa c'atush saquirichun.

Paica entonces chai jugueteyu, chai huambracuna pugllana jugueteta Cuencamanta randimushca nin, chuscu tucuita. Chaimanta nishca nin: - Caipica curi tiyanmi.

Pato nishca nin, huallpa nishca nin. - Caipica curi tiyanmi.

Huagra molde nishca. - Chaipi curimi tiyan. Chaicunami caipica, cai urcupica tiyan - nishca nin -, jacu caya allashun - nishca nin -, ricungui ñucaca ima shinami cancanaman llugchish c'atush saquirisha.

Chaimanta compadrecunaca ari nishpa ña machete, lampa, barreta rishca tucui allangapa. Chaimanta entonces compadretaca nishca nin: - Canca caipi allai - nishca nin.

Chaimanta qllash ima mundo rumita llugchishca nin, Chaimanta ima mundo rumita llugchigpica nishca nin; - Jahuallallata allangui, Ñami curi tuparigriscun, Curipi lampata satishpa tucui p'auquingumi - nishca, Chaimanta entonces nishca nin runaca: - Ari compadrito - nishca nin, Ari compadrito nigpica entonces ña: - Cutiri cutiri canca. Can mala suertemi cángui, Mana cambia ñahuipica ricuringachu curica, Ñuca solo allasha - nishca nin,

Chaimanta runa cutirigpica shug jatun rumipi ñitish churashca nin chai Cuencamanta randimushcataca ña allash, Chaimanta nishca nin; - Shamui shamui ricungui, caipi ima shinami curi alairi - nish , maquihuan aspish ricuchishca nin,

Chaipica entonces Cuencamanta randicushca jugueteacunaca allpapi chapurishca llugshicushca nin, Chaimanta runaca nishca nin; - Ai, compadrito, caitaca ñucaman c'atush saquiri - nishca nin,

Chaipica nishca nin chazuca: - Bueno, compadre, c'atushami, Caica pichca huarangami valin - nishca nin -, pichca huarangata cugpi c'atush saquirinimi - nishca nin,

- Bueno, ari compadre, Ñuca chaitaca cushallami, Ñuca rini yunta huagrata c'atungapa domingota compadremán cush cachangapa cai curita ñuca randingapa - nishca,

Chaimanta domingocama shuyashca nin curita c'atungapa chazuca,

Chaimanta ynta huagrahuan shamushca nin, Plazapi, c'atushca nin, Chaimanta cutirishca nin, Alli carashca nin: - Compadre - nishca nin -, caica pichca huarangatami curi, cai curitaca ñuca ima shinata charisha - nishca nin,

Chaimi nishca nin: - Cai curitaca canca quimsa huaranga chugpipichari chapuchishpa chaipica cullquitaca canmanca cada quillami chuscu huaranga ruhuanga quimsa huarangata cugpica - nishca nin,

Chaimanta entonces ña paica quimsa huaranga chugpipi chai curitaca churashca nin, Bueno, chaimanta ña quillpapi ricugrishca nin; mana ima tucushca nin cullqui, Shinallata cashca nin, Ña shina sugta quillapi ricugrishca nin, ashun cullqui ña tucui ismucushca nin, billetecunaca ismucushca nin,

Chaimanta cutin shug viajero shamushca nin, Viajero shamugpica parlashca nin: - Ñucata cashna ruhuarirca Cuencamanta shug chazu cai tuquita allashpa llugchishpa saquirirca, Cullquita mirachingami nishpa mana mirachin - nishpa parlashca nin,

Chai viajero nishca nin: - Apamui ricushun ciertotachu curi cashca, Ricugrigpica mana curi cashca, Chai huambracunapapugllana jugueteella cashca, Chai viajero japish polvo shitashca, Chaimanta japish polvo shitagpi chai runaca cai mundo pichca huarangata perdin, Cai mundo carashca, cai mundo uviachishcataca perdin, Mana curi cashca, llullashpa purishca paica chashna cullquita llugchingapa, Chaimanta entonces llullash purishca paica shinami purishca,

Chaimanta cutin viajeman rishca paipish, Chaimanta parlo ruhuashca nin: - Chashna chashnami ñucata ruhuagrín Cuencamanta shamushca chazu chai urcu, Malal urcupimi, curi tiyan nishpa mana cierto cashca, llulla cashca, Chaimanta chai chazutaca cutin mascash purishcacuna nin tapushpa maipimi causan, Cuencaman rishpa ña, Chai chazuca manallata chai cashca nin, Cutin cai ura Lavadil ladomanta cashca nin, Shina puricushca nin llullashpa curitami llugchish curi, curita llugchishpa c'atucuni nishpa, Chaipi japi tucushca nin chazuca, Chaipi japi tucugpimi chazutaca presoshpa amushpa cutin, cutin cutichichishcacuna nin, Chaimanta cullquita cutichichishpami cutin chazuca llugshirishca preso cashpa, Tucurirca,

The deceitful gold-digger

There was a rich indian living in Ger. And there was a *chazu* from Cuenca travelling about the countryside. He came to Ger and said to the indian: "Hey, *compadre*, why do you live so poorly? There are riches to be had. I saw gold shining over on that hill."

"Well, *compadre*," replied the indian, "you dig it up and sell it to me."

The *chazu* said: "Very well, *compadre*, I'll get it out of the ground and sell it to you. I saw a lot of it shining there and I left a sign on the spot."

The man from Ger said: "Very well, *compadre*."

The indian's name was Ulala. Then the people of Ger gave the *chazu* a great welcome: they gave him plenty of food and drink so that he would sell the gold when he had extracted it.

Now the *chazu* had come with a few children's toys that he had bought in Cuenca. He told the people: "There is gold here in the shape of a duck, a hen and a cow. They are here inside this hill. Let's go and dig for it tomorrow. You will see that somehow I shall extract the gold and sell it to you."

Agreeing, the people got together with *machetes*, spades and digging sticks and went to dig for the gold. The *chazu* told the *compadre*: "You dig here."

As he worked he dug up a great pile of stones. When he dug up the stones, the *chazu* said: "Just dig on the surface. The gold will appear any minute now. If you push your spade into the gold you'll break it."

And the indian obeyed his word. Then the *chazu* told him: "Now go back, go back, You bring bad luck. The gold will not appear while you are looking for it. I'll dig for it alone."

When the indian had gone back, the *chazu* crushed up some stones and placed the things that he had bought in Cuenca in the middle of them. Then he dug the things out: "Come and look, here's the gold as clear as day."

And he scraped it up in his hands to show them. He drew the toys that he had bought in Cuenca out of the ground, all mixed up with the soil. Then the indian said to him: "Oh, *compadre*, please sell me this." The *chazu* replied: "Very well, *compadre*, I'll sell it. This is worth five thousand *sucre*s. If you give me five thousand *sucre*s, I'll sell it to you."

"Very well, *compadre*, I'll give you that amount. I'll sell one of my oxen at the market on Sunday in order to buy it and send you away with the money."

So the *chazu* waited until Sunday in order to sell the gold.

The indian came down to the market place and sold his ox. Then he came back home and gave the *chazu* a good meal, saying: "*Compadre*, here are the five thousand *sucre*s. I shall have that gold somehow." The *chazu* replied: "If you mix this gold with three thousand *sucre* notes, it will yield four thousand *sucre*s every month."

So the indian placed the gold inside three thousand *sucre* notes. Then after a month he went to look at it: it hadn't turned into more money at all, it was just the same as before. After two months he went to look again and the money was there unchanged. Then in six months he looked again and this time the notes had rotted away.

After that, along came another traveller to the village. When that traveller came, the indian told him his story; "A *chazu* from Cuenca did this to me; he dug these various things out of the ground and left them for me. He told me the money would reproduce itself but it didn't."

The traveller said: "Take me to see if it really was gold." When he went to look he saw that it wasn't gold after all. It was just a few children's toys. The traveller picked them up and smashed them. He smashed the toys, and the indian lost five thousand *suores*. And he lost all the food and drink he had given the trickster. It hadn't been gold after all, he had been going about telling lies in order to get money from people.

So the indian who had been tricked set off on a journey also. He told his tale as he went: "A *chazu* from Cuenca tricked me telling me there was gold in Malal hill. But it wasn't true at all, it was a lie." Then he went about looking for the *chazu*. He went down to Cuenca asking for his whereabouts. Then it seemed that the *chazu* wasn't from there at all, but from Lavadil in the direction of the coast. He was going about deceiving people, telling them he could dig up gold and sell it to them. Then the indian and his friends caught the *chazu*, brought him back to the village and made him pay back the money. When he had been made to return the money, he went away as a prisoner. That's the end.

Informant: JMT, 15th July, 1976

N511 Treasure in ground

J2348 Dupe is persuaded that money will grow if he buries it

3.0 Group (ii): Other humorous tales

There is comparative material available from elsewhere in Ecuador for Tale 62: in PM/CT/6: "*El burro milagroso*", a poor brother tricks his rich brother into buying a donkey that defecates gold; PM/CT/10: "*Hierve ollita*" is a single episode variant of the faked magical cooking pot incident. Tale 63 is of a type well-known in Spanish-America; Miller's nos. 75 and 77 both contain the theme of foolish imitation whereby a richer brother tries through greed to imitate the success of his poorer brother, and dies (op.cit.). In connection with the episode in which the dupe substitutes for the trickster, the same pattern was noted in the fox and rabbit tales. Gifford has examined a Peruvian variant, found in Taylor (1977), an episode of which is strongly reminiscent of the Cañar version:

"Rich brother now traps idle brother, puts him in a sack and makes off to a cliff in order to throw him into the sea. On the way he stops for *chicha*. Idle brother seizes on a passing shepherd and puts him in sack instead. Rich brother throws sack into sea, poor brother keeps flock. Later meets rich brother. Tells him sea full of animals. Rich brother demands same treatment. Dies."
(Gifford 1978)

Tale 63 also contains a comic episode which pokes fun at the priest, a link with the Group (i) tales.

There were no additional remarks to make about Tale 61, so finally let us look at Tale 64. This should be classed, strictly speaking, as a local legend or even a memorat, rather than as a folktale. It is given a local setting, and the incident is attributed to a particular member of the community of Ger. Its realistic qualities as legend/memorat form an interesting contrast with the folktales of this section. The humour of all of those arises from the credulity and gullibility of the protagonists: the woman who believes in the appearance of St. Peter, the man who is taken in by the gold-dropping ass, and so on. Here, however, we have a narration which evidently started life as an account

of the personal experience of someone known to the narrator, and the humour inherent in the fantastical tales of the credulity of others is suddenly sobered by the touch of realism. There is too much truth in the account for it to be merely funny: the audience is brought 'down to earth' as it were, and cannot but see this tale as a wry enditement of the familiar theme of deception of indians by visiting *chazo* traders; it acts as a warning against the foolish acceptance of the appearance of things, and the words of outsiders.

Moreover, in the context of the corpus as a whole, Tale 64 can be seen as a corollary to traditional notions surrounding the gold contained in the hills, suggesting an incipient disenchantment with the old belief system. That the tale should exist alongside Tale 1 in the repertoire of the same informant illustrates on a personal level the contradictions and complexities arising as former ideologies shift their ground.

APPENDICES

I

'Taita Carnaval'

According to EDC: people prepare for the good fortune of having Taita Carnaval (TC) visit their houses at any time between the Monday and Tuesday afternoon of Carnival, by placing a table laden with the kind of food he is known to like in their house: *chicha*, *trago*, unsalted *cuy*, turkey, chicken and *zhima mote* ("*maíz que tiene el color de perla*" - Cordero (1967)). They place a trail of ash around the table so that if TC comes they will know by the footprints left in it. No-one ever sees him come, and he leaves behind the *Buena Suerte*. It is also believed that on the Tuesday of Carnival, TC and 'El Cuaresmero' meet in the *cerro* and partake of a meal together; but as El Cuaresmero is mean and hungry, his food consists only of a small amount of *macha*, nearly all husks ("*puro afrecho*"), some very small, wormy potatoes, and a small piece of *cuy*. TC on the other hand, provides all the good foods that he likes. He is ashamed of the meanness of El Cuaresmero. The two eat the food together, but no-one else is present, and they offer this food to nobody. Once the informant was with some friends in Cuchucún, when they thought they heard TC coming, sounding a *caja* and a *pingullo*, but they waited and didn't see anything. There is also the idea that TC only visits rich people's houses. The implication was that only the better off put out the spread for him and also, of course, that the *Buena Suerte* only comes to them.

MEZ added that the custom during Carnival is to go from house to house eating and drinking. If any household fails to offer food, the party will insult it, saying that it had looked as if it were a house, but after all it was only a pigsty or a dog's kennel. The legendary behaviour of TC is reflected in the customs of the people. The instruments associated with him are often to be heard in the hills at this time of year.

MC told me how Carnival Tuesday is known as *auca punsha* ('day of the fighter'); on this day one has licence to settle old debts with enemies, fights often break out. This was repeated in comments by MAV, GZP, LA, (ritual battles as such are no longer ostensible, but vestiges of them remain in the attitudes between groups at Carnival time, cf. Hartmann 1971:129, Gifford and Hoggarth 1975:86-88).

II

Contracts with the devil

GGG: "Había uno que se llamaba Belisario Pizhaca. Era muy rico, rico. Indígena. Por Chitaloma que dicen. Ahorita la hija se llama Cecilia Pizhaca, pero no conozco bien yo. He oído contar no más. También tiene comprados tierras abajo por los calientes, así. Ese era bien riquísimo, rico rico. Entonces tenía casa en Cuenca, un edificio bueno. Entonces ese tenía compromiso con el diablo, dicen. Entonces le ha pedido plata al diablo para hacerse rico. Compraba tierras, casas, muchas cosas. Entonces ya ha llegado no? para llegarle a él. Las hijas diz que encerraron adentro. Y un automóvil negro iba hasta la puerta de la casa, sí! Y quería llevar, pero las hijas no le daban campo. Tenían guardado adentro. No han dejado llevar. Pero siempre le molestaba así, en el automóvil, de noche. Entonces quería llevar. No llevó, se murió, pero no llevó".

EDC: there was, according to this informant, a man living in Quilloac who was very poor and spent all his money on drink, always getting drunk. Often when he went on journeys he would have meetings with devils. He was told to have a penknife ('*cortapluma*') blessed and to carry a rosary with him on his travels. This he did and the next time he had such an encounter, he cut off the devil's ear with the penknife and put it into a bag with the rosary. The devil begged him to return his ear, but the man refused to do so until the devil gave him a large amount of money. When this was done, the man further demanded a truck of gold. As each request was fulfilled so the man broke his word, and demanded more. He asked for a house to be built for him in the space of two days; a perfect house with windows, doors, etc. Lots of devils were enlisted to help in the construction, some carried cement, other tiles, panes of glass, others helped build the walls, etc. They worked all night until daybreak when the house was finished. But still the man withheld the ear and demanded a corral to be built and filled with pigs, sheep and cattle. He asked for grain, for cooking utensils, for clothes. In short he demanded everything a man could want and got it. One day, however, he went down to town and got drunk. He lost the devil's ear without realising. The devil got it back. The man was now very rich. The devil told the man to stop drinking or he would take everything back again. The neighbours talked of how rich he was: "*casi como un patrón*". But he didn't stop drinking. After eight days of bad behaviour, he came home one day and found everything gone. (this account provides a good example of the mixture of factual account of supposed happenings - the memorat - and folktale motifs cf. Honko 1964).

Sr. Cordero of Cañar town, a *mestizo* landowner had heard of a man, a '*chazo*', very rich, a 'millionaire'. It was said that one day in the *cerro* the devil had led him to a spot where he found a book filled with writing of different colours. This book contained instructions on: 1) how to reach a place where there were lots of cattle, 2) to take 3 sprigs of rosemary and where they moved above the ground, there to strike them into the earth, dig, and there would be gold. At one point the rosemary divined a spot which the devil's book warned against as it was guarded by a '*rey encantado*'. The man later confessed to the priest who told him to take all his riches back to the places where he had found them and he would be absolved. But the informant was sceptical of this remedy, he thought once you had sold your soul there was no forgiveness. Later, he said, the *chazo* had died and no-one wanted to pay his funeral expenses. (NB the connections between this account and the Group (ii) devil legends)

III

GGG: "*en las quebradas ahí vive el diablo dicen, porque ahí es el infierno. Una vez, en el río Cañar aquí, en ese río Cañar hacia abajo, frente a Juncal casi, hay un botadón de agua alto, bien alto, un poquito de agua que baja en el sector Ayahuaico que dicen. Entonces eso es una profundidad de casi unos quinientos metros, entonces ahí contaban muchos cuando yo andaba al pasto, no, con los borregos. Los otros chicos contaban así, por allá hay infierno. Sí. Entonces yo tenía deseos de verlo! Entonces los otros decían eso: no se ve no más, se ve solamente a las doce en punto del día. Allí hay una paila, no, ahí en la paila que está hirviendo con el agua y con el fuego ahí adentro, está hirviendo dicen. Entonces ahí a las doce en punto se abre esas puertas. Osea es una peña, es un botadón de agua. De ahí por adentro, no, por acá está botándose agua, en esas peñas se abrían las puertas. Adentro se veían las pailas y el fuego quemando, el agua que está hirviendo en la paila. Yo tenía deseos de ver! Entonces una vez nos reunimos entre bastantes para que no haiga miedo diciendo llevamos los borregos. Llevados los*

borregos nos vamos al frente de iso a pastar allí. Que pues, nada. Nada no se vela! Y muchos contaban que allí hay infierno, se abran las puertas a las doce en punto!"

GGG: "Muchos creen así en diablos. Mi cuñado también, cuando se chumaba en mi casa, no, siempre tenía que venir acá a Chuichún, no? Ahí era peón creo, un parcelero. Entonces él siempre llevaba la carabina para disparar. Entonces una vez decimos que duerma en nuestra casa no más; no quiso porque estaba chumado, y vino. Ha venido a quedarse más acá. Andaba como unos dos kilómetros más o menos, ha quedado dormido sentado. A lo que él se despierta, vela unos dos mujeres sentados al lado. Una a un lado y la otra al otro lado. Entonces él como estaba chumado quería cogerles, no. ¿Quién está aquí? ¿Quién? Pensó que era la mujer, mi hermana, ¿no? -Adela!- gritaba, -Adela! Nada. No contestaron nada. Se alejaron un poquito. -¿Quiénes son? Nada. No contestaron nadie. Entonces él seguía atrás. Se pusieron adelante las dos mujeres. Adelantaban, adelantaban adelantaban. Se fue él también. Hay una quebrada que se llama Muillinu. Entonces viraron en esa quebrada. Se desaparecieron las dos mujeres. Entonces él quería, a lo que no contesta, quería disparar, no? Ni podía disparar porque no salía el tiro. St. Entonces a lo que desapareció, así es que vino un temor terrible. Entonces él se corrió también, siguió caminando hasta llegar a la casa. Pero tenía un temor terrible. No podía ni virarse a ver. Entonces se ha llegado hasta la casa. Solamente quedaba dormida."

IV

"Gagones"

GGG: "Shug runa lllagtapi, Juncal lllagta chashna carca, Entonces chai runa cuñadahuan, soltera cuñadahuan causan nircacuna, Entonces chaica shug allcu, tuta ña, shug allcu tucun nin, almaca. Shig allcu 'gagon' nishca. Entonces chaihuanca huacan nin llullu huahua shina: 'nga nga nga' nin, llullu huahua cuenta. Entonces chaitami nin ñuca abuelo chaita chai layata parlag carca. Entonces chaica, paica utca ricuna nin urcuman. Chai ricupica entonces chimba ladomanta uyarín nin: 'nga nga nga' nina nin. Chai ñuca abueloca entonces jatun chicote aisashca cana nin, entonces cunarmi ricusha pimi cashca, nina nin. Entonces mana maiman risha entonces, shug sachá huavisai nishca yura tiyashca. Chai yuraman huichicushca paica. Chai yuraman huichicush chapashca, ima layami pasarca. Chai pasagpica pai shuyacun nin, carumanta shamushpaca ña quichquishpa quichquishpa shamuna, ashtauñ quichquishpa ña. Chailla entonces ña huavisai yura ucuta ñanca chai pasagpi allilla uraicun ña pasacugpi. Ishcai allucuna nin, shug c'ari shug huarmi. Entonces chaicunaca tigrarishpa, pugllashpa, saltashpa shamuncuna nin."

V

'Huairashca' ('Mal aire')

GGG, speaking of the remedy for 'huairashca' as described in his own narrative, Tale 9, said: "En eso yo estaba creído. Había una fiesta vecina a mi casa, no. Mis papás fueron llevando a mí también. Entonces al otro lado hay otra casa, no, al ladito no más. Pero esa casa ya era botada. Vivía en otro lado. Por atrás de la casa era camino grande de herramienta. Entonces mi papá salió, seguramente a hacer servicio, no. Ahí es que había una voz que decía -Juracha! Juracha! dos veces. Entonces mi papá con que susto regresó. Pero él seguramente acertó que era en la casa botada. Entonces pasando esto, con el susto ya contó

adentro a nosotros y a toda la gente que estaba allí de invitación. Creo que era en Carnaval. En Carnaval era, sí. Entonces ya lo que contó, algunos estaban admirados: ¿qué sería? ¿qué sería? Entonces ya vinieron a mi casa, vuelta, a nuestra casa. Trayeron a nuestra casa los que estaban allí en esa casa. Estando allí, pero ya antes de venir ya ha tenido un poco de dolor, pero no mucho, dolor del estómago. Ya llegando en la casa, sintió mal dolor, no. Gritaba, no. Él quería salir de la cocina. Entonces salió afuera al patio. A lo que él salió entonces sintió un bulto que salió igual con él, a la izquierda. Estando en toda puerta, en el umbral, entonces salió igualito con el bulto, no. Yasaliendo afuera pasó al otro cuarto, del otro cuarto ya cayó allí ya con el dolor. Entonces mi mamá se acordaba de ese cuento que conté. Ella ya pensó eso, no. Sabía de ese cuento, entonces por eso ella empezaba a hacer eso, el remedio. Igual que contaba de en antes. Dieron en una cuchara, no, porque ya estaban remordidos los dientes, ya en la última agonia, no. Estaban remordidos los dientes y le dieron en una cuchara no más. Y sanó. Eso yo creo, porque yo vi. El remedio igual, solamente el shalshacu le faltaba. De pavo también le faltaba, solamente de gallina y altamisa ya caca de puerco. Poquito poquito refregaba en la mano y así."

VI

The 'rucu yaya'

The following observations are extracts from field notes made after attending the Fiesta de San Pedro y San Pablo in La Capilla, June 29th, 1976: "costume: wigs of tangled hair, masks of cloth with zip round mouth, a stuffed cloth nose and woolly beard. Carried *chicotes* in their hands or slung across their backs, also hung around their persons were gourds for carrying *chicha*, and string bags containing their *cucayu*. They wore gumboots and woolly socks pulled over their trousers and usually brandished a bottle of *trago* in their hand.... Their principle activity throughout the *fiesta* was that of clowning and causing a hindrance to the otherwise smooth-running proceedings. They seemed to have full licence to clown, get in people's way, and be obscene in action and words. They were pretty drunk but not so much so that their wit or their legs failed them. On the Día del Gallo (the third day of the *fiesta*) I noticed particularly the strength with which they carried out their rôle during the meal held in the *prioste's* house. They had a captive audience while people were waiting for the food to come round; rolling about, kicking legs in the air and making jokes which I couldn't understand. All their dialogue was in Quichua whilst that of the (other characters in the *fiesta*) was in Spanish...."

EDC had been taking part in this and other *fiestas* as *rucu yaya* for 17 years, so he was an obvious person to ask for more information: the *prioste* (sponsor) comes to contract him, bringing persuasive gifts of *trago* and bread. He plays the part "*por devoción*". The *rucu yaya* is the jack-of-all-trades of the *fiesta*, being called upon to fetch water, chop wood and other chores. he performs various antics with names such as *salto de sapo* (leap frog), a type of tug of war, and other feats of strength. While performing these feats, the *rucu yaya* is watched over by a 'boss' figure and failure to perform well will result in him being beaten and kicked in mock punishment. In addition, the *rucu yaya* annoys, interferes, frightens the children, kisses the unmarried women, goes around the market asking for alms in a hat and often stealing food from the stalls. The custom is to ask for a special licence from

the police, costing S/10, but which allows the character to steal without reprisals. People will defend themselves from this eventuality by mistreating him, throwing buckets of water over him and so on. The informant, he told me, stole S/15 worth of *chicharrón* and got away with it; other things to be stolen might be: grass, onions, pots and pans. These may be resold to make money for the *fiesta*.

The rôle of the *rucu yaya* in the *fiesta* is to some extent a trickster-type one: the outsider on the margins of society who is nonetheless indulged by that society, as if it needed a scapegoat, a vehicle to perform ritually and atrociously all the misdeeds disallowed in everyday life.

GLOSSARY

ALTAMISA a mountain bush with bitter berries, used in herbal remedies (Lat? not mentioned in Cordero 1950).

CAJA small drum (see Landívar 1973:57).

CAJA RONCA "devils' drum"

CAÑAREJO inhabitant of Cañar

CAPULI *prunus salicifolia* HBK or *Cerasus salicifolia* DC; grows throughout Andes where temperature does not drop below 10C, but not on coast or Oriente.

COMPADRE/COMADRE ritual kin established when a man or woman agrees to act as godfather or mother at baptism or other occasion.

CORREDOR the open porch which runs along the side of indian houses where visitors are customarily received.

CUCAYU food taken on a journey or to the fields during the day's work; generally consists of boiled maize (*moti*) and potatoes with chili sauce (*uchu*).

CUI *cavia porcellus* L. guinea-pig; together with llama, alpaca and Muscovy duck, part of domesticated animal complex of pre-Colombian inhabitants of Peru; one of only sources of meat prior to conquest (Gade 1967 sic.).

CURIQUINGA *falcobaenus carunculatus* des Murs. Bird of prey of the highlands; features in *fiestas* (Carvalho-Neto 1966:151-2).

CHAZU person who has abandoned indian in favour of *mestizo* dress and lifestyle, sometimes synonymous with latter.

CHICHA Q. *as-hua* maize beer

CHICHARRON pork crackling

CHUMBI woven cummerbund, worn by men around the waist to fasten the *cushma* (tunic) which is worn under the *poncho*. Elsewhere in Ecuador, the *chumbi* is a female item of clothing (eg. Imbabura, Chimborazo).

ESCARAMUZA ceremonial dance on horseback

FAJA see **CHUMBI**

FIESTA religious festival in honour of local saint

GALLO MISHICU the coloured cockerel that "belongs to God" in tradition

HACIENDA large estate, worked by indians for white landowner in system which has undergone some change since the Agrarian Reform Laws of 1964.

HUAIHASHCA sickness believed to be caused by contact with malign influences eg. devil, *huacas*, etc.

HUASICAMA person working on *hacienda* under the former system whereby one month's unpaid tributary labour was due from each family.

HUICUNDU an epiphyte of the *Bromeliaceae* Lindl family, to be found growing on trees, walls and rooftops.

JURACHA! exclamation used to set dogs upon intruders.

MACHCA ground barley, eaten dry or with soups and stews

MACHETE large knife

MAL VIENTO see **HUAIKASHCA**

MALVA *althea officinalis* L. ('malva alta') used in herbal remedies, or *malva peruviana* L. ('cuchi malva'), used as pig fodder.

MAYORAL see **MAYORDOMO**

MAYORDOMO supervisor of work on *hacienda* under old system, not a well-loved figure by the indians.

MESTIZO person of mixed white and indian origin

MINGA communal work party

MONTAÑA see **SACHA**

PINGULLO vertical cane flute between 25-50 cms, in length, with 4-5 holes (Landívar 1973:52).

PONCHO male over-garment

PULEO *bistropogon mollis* HBK ('puleo del país'). Its odour calms headaches among other qualities (Cordero 1950:108).

REDOBLANTE large drum (see Landívar op.cit.58)

RONDADOR musical instrument not unlike the Bolivian sica (see Landívar op.cit.53). (panpipe)

SABILA CHAHUAR a fibrous cactus from which rope is made (L?)

SACHA the term used to describe the ecological zone below that of Cañar as one descends either towards Cuenca or towards the coast (approx. 2,800m.), where the climate is warmer, rain and fog are common, the vegetation low and dense, and there is little cultivation. Can also be applied to a tree or shrub, as a generic term.

SHALSHA (SHALSHACU) *Avena fatua* L. weed that infests wheat and barley fields, used as fodder, medicinal properties

SUCRE in 1976 S/.25 = U.S.\$1.00

TORTILLAS maize pancakes

TRAGO cane alcohol

UGSHA tough straw-like grass growing at high altitude (approx. 3,800 m.) used for thatching

VACA LOCA features in many *fiestas* (San Pedro, Corpus, etc.) A cane frame is constructed in the shape of a cow, covered with a hide and a pair of horns fixed to the front end. Fireworks are attached and the dancer places the whole construction over his head. He then cavorts among the crowd as the fireworks go off, causing screams of hilarity and alarm.

ZAMBO term applied by the Cañaris to the culturally distinct, Quichua-speaking inhabitants of the area around Azogues and Biblián.

ZHUTA common highland bird (L?), (cf. Garcilaso 1960, II:393).

ZUMBAZURA unidentified highland bird, cf. *dumbadur*.

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BAE Biblioteca de Autores Españoles
 CCE Casa de la Cultura Ecuatoriana
 FFC Folklore Fellows Communications
 HSAI Handbook of South American Indians
 JAFL Journal of American Folklore
 IID Instituto Interandino de Desarrollo

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(*) for the sake of clarity, italic script is not used in the Bibliography.

ADDENDA

Upon the recommendation of the Examining Committee, I wish to make the following bibliographical additions:

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